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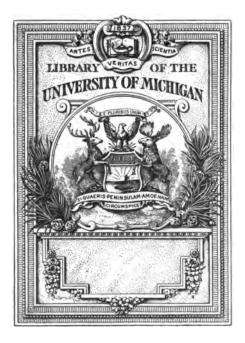
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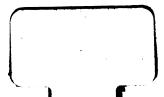
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A BRIEF

# HISTORY OF TURKEY.

TRAMSLATED



FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. JOHANNES BLOCHWITZ,

MRS. M. WESSELHOEFT.

With Maps.

### BOSTON:

JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY,

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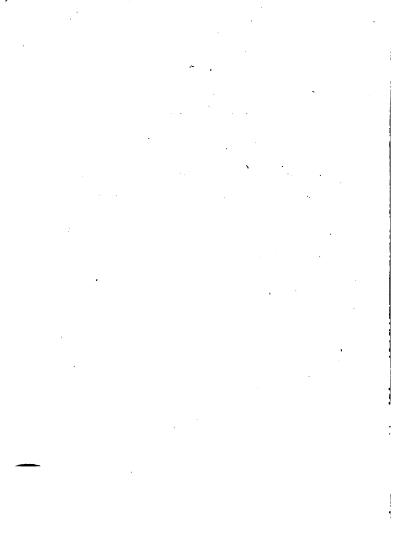
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### PREFACE.

THE deep interest now felt by all intelligent people in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire suggested the preparation of the following brief and comprehensive epitome of the principal events of Turkish history. To those who wish to become quickly familiar with this subject, on which a want of general information is not uncommon, this little work will be welcome, as no similar epitome of Turkish history is now to be found. To make it available for all, the subject has been popularly treated, and events are described rapidly without unnecessary comment. The use of Turkish terms has been avoided as far as possible: of those which it seemed necessary to use, a brief explanation will be found at the end of the book.

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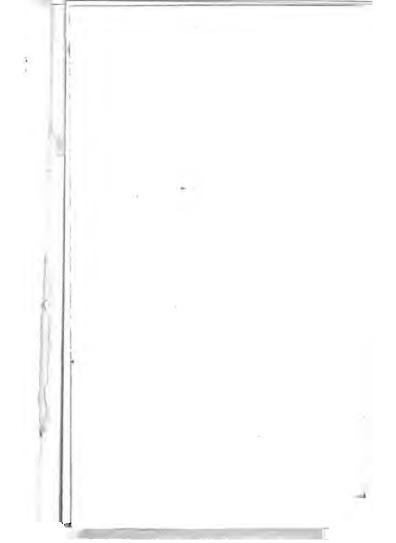
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## A BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKEY.

THE earliest history of Turkey, like the earliest history of every nation, is wrapped in obscurity. Information concerning it can least of all be expected from Turkish sources; for after their conversion to Islam, or the religion of Mohammed, the Turks rejected as false and contrary to the true faith every thing that was not contained in the Koran. The uplands of the Altai Mountains, the watershed of the Obi and Irtish, seem to be the cradle of the Turkish race, where, from the earliest ages, they were neighbors of the Mongols and Tartars. An allusion to this fact is found in the old tradition that the patriarchs of the three races (Turks, Mongols, and Tartars) were brothers. While the Mongols and Tartars remained in their original home, the Turks gradually migrated from these uplands; but the cause

of their departure cannot be clearly traced, although the extension of Chinese rule is doubtless to be considered in connection with it. In Chinese annals, the Turks are at first mentioned as Hiung-nu; a designation which repeatedly gave rise to the serious error of confounding them with the Huns. Since the fifth century, instead of this old appellation, a new name for the Turks appears in Chinese writings, Thu-kiu, or Tu-ku, from which the name *Turk* is derived, and by which those Turks were evidently designated who would not submit to Chinese rule, but emigrated, and remained free. These Turks, on leaving their ancient home, went in a south-westerly direction, and first subjugated the lowlands between the rivers Sir and Amoo (the ancient Jaxartes and Oxus), to the Sea of Aral and the Caspian Sea, those extensive plains, which, from their conformation, are called by the general name of Turan, which means bottom-lands; or Turkistan, after their conquerors. Byzantine writers call the Turks of these plains Uzi, Oghuze, Uiguri. The subjugation of these lowlands naturally gave rise to fierce struggles between the original possessors and the Turkish invaders. A

part of the former were compelled to leave those regions, and fly to Europe: they were those hordes comprised under the general name of Avari. The enmity between the Avari and the Turks constantly asserted itself with the utmost violence. The princes or chiefs of these migratory Turks, who became the dominant race on these plains, bore the title of Khans; the chief among these, the title of Grand Khan (or Khan of Khans). The fame of his power filled western Asia and eastern Europe as early as the sixth century. As early as 562 and 568 embassies of the Grand Khan appeared at the court of the Greek emperor at Constantinople, in order to induce the latter to annihilate the Avari who had taken refuge in Europe. In 568 an alliance was formed between the Grand Khan of the Turks and the Emperor Justinian II., which is the first connection of the Turks with Europe.

In the tenth century, Islamism was brought to the Oghuze Turks from the southward, from Persia. Nomad races lay aside their old religion more quickly than nations which have become permanently settled; and the religion of Mohammed spread with unusual rapidity among the Turks.

It is said that even the Grand Khan was converted to Islamism in 960. The name Turkomans, meaning true believers (from Iman, the faith), came more and more into use to designate the Mohammedan Oghuze.

At the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, these Mohammedan Turks set out for Persia, for the more southerly uplands. The region of Bokhara seems to have been their destination. The Persian districts of Khorassan, Herat, Kirman, Farsistan, Kurdistan, Bagdad, &c., were subjugated by them within a remarkably short period. During the eleventh century, all of Syria, and the greater part of Asia Minor, — in fact, all of western Asia, — came under their sway. Among the Persian invaders of Turkey, *Seljuk* is particularly prominent; after whom these Oghuze Turks from Turan, who subjugated all of western Asia, are usually called Seljukian Turks, or Seljuks.

While Seljuk himself principally conquered Persia, his grandson, the great Khan Togrul (1063), conquered the mountain districts, Armenia and Georgia, and, scarcely any resistance being offered by the declining Byzantine Empire, also the greater part of Asia Minor. Togrul's successor

and nephew, Alp-Arslan, was temporarily driven back across the Euphrates, but soon brought all of Togrul's conquests under his own rule again. His able son and successor. Melek, reduced all Syria and Lower Egypt. He was one of the most excellent of rulers; and under him the dominions of the Seljuks, as the territory of one sultan, received their greatest extension. Under Melek, the power of the Seljukian Turks reached its climax. After him, the realm was divided among his four sons, and at their death subdivided again and again into lesser khanates and emirates. Ten Seljuk sultans reigned in Asia Minor alone. While the west of the Seljuk Empire was being terribly torn by internal party strife, the east was suffering from ruinous crusades and invasions of the Oghuze Turks or Turkomans, who had already withdrawn from Seljuk rule before the middle of the twelfth century. What remained after this of Seljuk power was crushed by the Mongol invasions during the thirteenth century.

The conquest of Persia by the Mongols was likewise the first step towards founding the Ottoman Empire. In order to escape from the oppression of the Mongol Grand Khan Genghis, a

horde of Oghuze Turks, numbering about fifty thousand, emigrated under their sultan, Soliman, from the Persian district Khorassan to the mountains of Armenia, about the beginning of the thirteenth century. After Soliman's death, the horde divided, and half of the tribe continued its wanderings westward toward Asia Minor under Soliman's son Ertagrul, and settled west of Angora. Ertagrul became tributary to the Seljuk sultan of Konia (ancient Iconium) or Karaman, in whose territory their new settlements lay. For the assistance which these migratory Oghuze Turks rendered, under Ertagrul the Seljuk, against the Greek emperors, the Seljuk sultan of Karaman granted them a territory on the tenure of military service, extending to the region of Brusa. These newly-acquired domains were ruled with unusual wisdom by the worthy Ertagrul. The Christians were protected as much as possible in his domains. He died 1288.

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### OTHMAN OR OSMAN I. (1288), 1299-1326.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Osman, who introduced Islamism among his people, but, like his father, left the Christians undisturbed in the profession of their faith. He acquired territory after territory of the Greek Empire, but continued a vassal of the Seljuk sultan of Karaman. In proportion as the Seljuk power increased in the east, and the Greek Empire to the west of his little territory irretrievably declined, the desire for complete independence became roused in Osman.

His independence dates from 1299. He was the first independent sultan of those Turks who emigrated to western Asia Minor in the first half of the thirteenth century, and are called Ottoman Turks, after him. The creation of this independent territory was also the beginning of the present Turkish dominion, which developed from it, and still bears the name of the Ottoman Empire.

The beginning was small, comparatively very small. The territory lay in western Asia Minor, between Angora and Brusa. It was bounded by the River Sangaris in the east, and westward by the heights of Olympus: in the south Karadshahissar, and in the north Jenishar, the metropolis of Ertagrul and Osman, were the extreme boundaries. From this insignificant beginning the Ottoman Empire was to expand over three con-

tinents. Osman I. himself conquered nearly the whole of Bithynia : Brusa, its capital, fell into his power shortly before his death. Osman enforced the strictest discipline among his hordes. In reading the accounts of bestial cruelty and devastation by Byzantine writers, it must be remembered that these statements come from inimical sources, or that what might be true of the Seljuk Turks was erroneously applied to the Ottomans. Osman wisely divided the conquered territories among his chiefs to hold in fief, and thereby bound them to himself, besides securing safety and protection to these new districts. He particularly encouraged the commerce and industry of the Greek cities in his realm, in order to break all resistance from this quarter, to increase the prosperity of his empire, and develop in his own people, who, after all, were mere nomads, a taste for commerce, industry, and agriculture. A number of Greek cities, of whose poverty and distress Byzantine writers give the most doleful accounts, voluntarily left Greek neglect for Ottoman protection. Slowly but surely Osman proceeded in his conquests step by step. This method in his territorial acquisitions, and the protection given to the

reduced districts, highly distinguishes Osman among nomad princes and Asiatic barbarians. 'With the conquest of Brusa (1326), his last wish was fulfilled. He died soon after, and was buried at Brusa. Though a nomad prince, he was gifted with rare virtues and abilities, and inspired with the thought of creating a great nation. What might not the Ottoman Empire have become, had all Osman's successors followed his example ? and what has become of it now?

#### ORCHAN, 1326-1359.

Orchan was Osman's worthy son and successor. By having his name stamped on the coins, and ordering public prayer for himself in the Friday service of the Mohammedan Church, he showed at once that he considered himself a sovereign ruler. His merit lies less in continued conquest than in his internal development of the young empire.

Nicæa was conquered in 1330, the most important stronghold of the Greek emperors in Asiatic territory. Under Ottoman rule, Nicæa soon became a flourishing commercial city, after struggling long in poverty and neglect under Greek misrule. Soon after, Nicomedia, and all the land to the coast of the Black Sea, fell into the power of the Ottomans. From that time, the three most important cities, Nicæa, Brusa, and Nicomedia, were in possession of the Ottomans, and, soon after, entire western Asia. Under Orchan, the first firm foothold was gained by the Turks in Europe. His first endeavor was to establish more definite relations by treaty with foreign powers. He even married a daughter of the Greek emperor, Cantacuzene. During various contentions for the Greek throne, he was called upon to arbitrate by both contending parties; and he saw that this distracted realm would not long be able to offer energetic resistance. In 1321 the Ottoman Turks had already made an incursion into Europe (the earlier and numerous irruptions of the Seljuk Turks are not alluded to here). In succeeding years these incursions became more frequent and threatening. In 1356 the Ottomans took a fortified castle on the coast (the present Dshemenlik), near Gallipolis, and in 1357 Gallipolis itself.

This was the first fortified town of importance occupied by the Ottoman Turks in Europe, — the

key, as it were, to the rest of Europe. Gallipolis was of the greatest importance to the commerce between Asia and Europe from its site between the sea of Marmora and the Black Sea. A number of influential Ottoman families were settled here ; and these settlements, following each new conquest, became an important aid to Ottoman success in Europe. Soliman, Orchan's eldest son, who had carried out these conquests, henceforth resided in this Ottoman fortress on European soil, and was buried there in 1358, - the first Ottoman prince who died and rested in Europe. He may be considered as the founder of Ottoman rule in Europe. He has been repeatedly mentioned in the succession of Ottoman sultans, but erroneously, as he died before his father, and never reigned independently; but he conducted all the military operations. Grief at the death of his son caused the death of the father in the following year (1359); and, like Osman, Orchan was buried at Brusa. After the conquest of Gallipolis, new districts on the European coast were acquired by the Ottomans from year to year. Of equal if not of higher importance than his conquests are Orchan's able efforts to regulate the

interior affairs of the Ottoman state. In 1328 he gave to the Ottoman Empire the first organic The author of this first Ottoman code. laws. to which additions were continually made, was Orchan's brother Aladdin, a discriminating, clearminded man. To facilitate commercial relations with the different parts of his new empire, the coinage was regulated so as to have a more uniform standard of value. To insure better administration, the realm was divided into governments; but the most important changes were effected in the organization of the army. Like all nomadic tribes, the Turks had only horsemen. The new army organization of 1330 added footsoldiers, - the janizaries (Jeni-tsheri), meaning new troops. The janizaries constituted the standing army of the Ottoman Empire.

When Osman founded his empire in Asia Minor, the Turks were only a nomadic people, and, as such, an equestrian race, and the state, by all antecedents, an invading and conquering state. When a conquest was made, every brave horseman (*spahis*) received a grant of land *in fief*, which obliged him to do military duty in time of war. This system of holdings was not only the

foundation of Turkish military power, but equally the basis of its territorial divisions. A number of these holdings constituted a sandshak: a number of sandshaks, a pashalik (district or government). All the vassals of a sandshak were led in war by the sandshabeg (pasha of one horse-tail); all the sandshabegs of a pashalik, by a beglarbeg (pasha of two or three horse-tails). Under Selim II., for instance, in the sixteenth century, the whole Ottoman Empire was divided into twenty such pashaliks, beglarbegs, or emirates, -- thirteen in Asia, three in Europe, and three in Africa. At the close of the reign of Murad III., successor of Selim II., in consequence of a new division, their number was increased from twenty to forty. The entire number of these vassals, or spahis, in the sixteenth century, the most flourishing period of the empire, was said to have risen to seven hundred thousand. As the empire expanded, it became more difficult to collect them in time of war; and as the empire declined, and with it the feudal system, the call to arms was obeyed more grudgingly and inefficiently, which early necessitated paid spahis, or permanent cavalry.

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The want was also early felt of a standing army of infantry, which at first surrounded the sultan, and followed him: these were the janizaries. In the course of time, their number rose from one thousand, which was not exceeded under Orchan, to about six thousand, when the organization of these troops gradually changed. In the beginning, the necessary men were recruited from among the Christians, and compelled to accept the Mohammedan religion ; though in many cases no compulsion was needed. The high pay received by the janizaries, and the excellent education given them for those times, the prospect of preferment to high offices opened to them by joining these troops, induced many Christians to enter the service voluntarily, and poor Christian parents to offer their boys. As they were educated in separate institutions, called the pages' chambers, and educated under the most rigid supervision for their future career, their entrance into the corps naturally deprived them of parents, home, and religion. From that time forth, the sultan became their provider and lord; blind obedience and unconditional subordination formed the principal element of their training;

and it may be said, that, before its deterioration, this corps was the blind and trustworthy but most terrible weapon of the sultans against their enemies. The required number of janizaries was partly supplied by the captive Christian youths of the nations with whom the Turks were at war, and partly recruited in the Christian provinces of Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Albania.

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In proportion as these troops deteriorated and became demoralized, and the hatred against unbelievers increased, Christian parents strove to withhold their sons from the drafts. As single men only were enrolled as janizaries at first, Christian boys were married at the age of eight and ten, - a remedy which later proved fruitless, as married ones were also taken. Because Christians only were required, parents finally allowed their children to adopt the Mohammedan creed; but soon this no longer availed them, partly because these conversions were forbidden, and partly because Mohammedans began to be enrolled as well. To escape the drafts by flight was possible only in the border provinces. But the fugitives were not unfre-

quently returned by the neighboring states, as the Porte usually made it a pretext for quarrel when informed of it; as, for instance, with Venice. Only one remedy remained, - for the wealthier parents to purchase exemption for their children, which could be done for sixty or seventy ducats; a privilege which created outrageous abuses. The janizary officers detailed for recruiting often drafted a great many more children than were required, and then sold the surplus into slavery, -a great but disgraceful source of gain. The deterioration of these troops, and finally their indescribable demoralization, had its origin in various causes. At first they received a most thorough training and education in the pages' chambers, so called, to which they were received at the age of six or seven. As the treasury grew lower, they were received at fourteen and sixteen, in order to shorten the term of training as much as possible: later, the pages' chambers of the boys and the education were done away entirely. By this means, the subordination to which their whole training tended was lost, and that notorious lawlessness took its place, which found them ever ready for revolts, and impatient of discipline.

Owing to the prospect of advancement, and the high pay offered, Turks soon forced themselves into the service; and by their advent the enmity between Christians and Mohammedans was carried into this corps, and often vented itself in bloody strife of the janizaries among themselves. By the reception of married men into the corps, it lost its character of privacy. Owing to the demand of the married men to have their sons enrolled, - who, in many cases, did not serve at all, but were janizaries merely in name, - their numbers finally increased overwhelmingly; in the seventeenth century from thirty thousand to sixty thousand; at the beginning of the nineteenth century even to four hundred thousand, of whom only sixty thousand, however, drew regular pay. and only twenty-five thousand were under arms. In place of their former obedience and bravery, there were unfitness for service, and enervation, coupled with unchecked brutality, and often bestial cruelty. These were the cowardly bands which fled as soon as a battle began, and who, during sieges, could not be made to stand their ground, - as, for instance, before Vienna, - not even for the enormous premium of twenty ducats

per man. These were the hordes who no longer distinguished between their own country and the enemy's, and became an insupportable burden to the Ottoman Empire. Once the janizaries were the blind tools of the sultans: now the relation was reversed, and the sultans repeatedly became the powerless victims of these bandits. Accustomed to receive rich gifts at the accession of each new sultan (from two to three million ducats, averaging from thirty to fifty per man), after exacting the first gift by revolt from Mohammed II., they often compelled the abdication, and even the strangling of unpopular sultans, by terrible mutinies, in order to place a more pliable one on the throne. As the treasury was drained more and more, the new sultans were able to sustain themselves only by repeatedly strangling or banishing wealthy Turks, and confiscating their property in order to appropriate it to these gifts. Indeed, it happened that the janizaries singled out the victim who was to be so immolated, and laid his name before the sultan. It was a real deliverance for the state when the enlightened sultan, Mohammed II., after a well-considered plan, but not without a terrible massacre, finally

dealt this rabble their death-blow in 1826, and entirely abolished the janizaries.

### MURAD I., 1359-1389.

Murad was Orchan's second son. In order to continue the conquests of his father in undisturbed security, he considered it necessary to protect the eastern boundary of his realm. Here lay Karaman, to whose sultan Murad's grandfather had been tributary. These Eastern sultans looked with envy upon the increasing power of the Ottomans; and Karaman was the only state in Asia Minor from which the Ottomans had any thing to fear: therefore Murad's attention, and that of his immediate successors, were directed to the subjugation of Karaman. Murad I. began by taking Angora (Ankyra), which from its situation afforded a strong position on the north-eastern boundary of his empire. At the same time, it was the principal commercial depot of Asia Minor: there the chief channels of trade converged from Syria and Armenia, and thence to the Thracian and Sicilian coast. In a subsequent war against Karaman, it succumbed ; and its sultan, to whom Osman had once done homage,

was now obliged to do homage to the Ottoman sultan at the peace of Konia, in 1386. Soon Murad's successor, Bajazet I., after a victorious campaign, incorporated all Karaman in 1392.

Immediately after the conquest of Angora, Murad I. turned to Europe. He first took possession of a number of fortified castles on the Hellespont to gain points of support in two directions, east and west, toward Asia and Europe. In 1361 Adrianople was already in his power, the largest fortress of the Byzantine Empire in Europe; shortly after Philippopolis, a conquest by which the Servians felt themselves threatened. They united with the Hungarians, but were terribly defeated by Murad I. on the Maritsa in 1365. This battle is the first in which Hungarians and Ottomans fought side by side; but an almost endless succession of bloody battles was yet to be fought between them. Murad's conquests extended farther and farther. Apollonia fell in 1372, and a number of towns on the Thracian coast in 1373; also Nissa, which, owing to its position, is important to the present Servians and Bulgarians succumbed after day. repeated struggles; and at the peace of 1375 both nations bound themselves to pay tribute to Murad I. This was the beginning of tributary obligations for the Christian nations of the Ottoman Empire, — obligations which have not yet been annulled.

In 1382 Sophia (Sardika) was conquered, — a position strategically of the highest importance. Bordering on Thrace, Macedonia, Servia, and Bulgaria, the possession of its passes or defiles is of the greatest consequence. The Servians paid for a new revolt by a bloody and total defeat at Cassova, 1389; the Bulgarians, by the occupation of their territory, and the captivity of their reigning family. Thus the reign of Murad I. was one of brilliant victories.

His glory was dimmed by the conspiracy against himself of one of his sons, which terminated by the blinding and execution of the rebel. This is the first instance of a revolt in the Ottoman Empire led by a member of the reigning family: it is the first instance in which an Ottoman sultan caused one of his sons to be put to death. How many internal struggles have since distracted the empire! How many sons of sultans have been strangled! To make similar rebellions impossible for the future, the principle steadily gained ground, based upon certain passages of the Koran, that the brothers of a sultan must be *strangled* on his accession to the throne. It was, indeed, further justified by a *fetwa* or decree, which says, "If two caliphs meet, slay one of them;" and was actually imposed as a duty by a law of Mohammed II. Selim I. caused five nephews to be strangled in one day.

Murad was the first sultan since 1365 who resided in Adrianople.

#### BAJAZET I., 1389-1402.

Bajazet continued uninterruptedly the conquests of his father. Wallachia was added to Servia and Bulgaria in 1391 as a tributary state: even the Greek emperor became tributary about this time. In 1394 the most important fortresses on the Danube — Widin, Nicopolis, and Silistria — fell into the power of the Ottomans. The Hungarians suffered a severe defeat under their king, Sigismund, at Nicopolis, in 1396. In the same year the Ottoman Turks for the first time invaded *Styria*, subsequently often and cruelly overrun by them ; and in Bosnia they penetrated

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKEY. 29

as far as Zvornik. At the same time, Bajazet's hordes overran Thessaly and Morea, where they took a number of the principal towns; as, for instance, Larissa, Trikka, Pharsalus, Lamia, Athens, &c.

While Bajazet was continually enlarging the boundaries of his empire in Europe, his empire in Asia was threatened from the east with utter extinction. The Tartar Grand Khan, and conqueror of the world, Timur, approached the borders of the Ottoman Empire more and more, having vanquished every obstacle. Bajazet hastened to Asia. In the terrible battle of Angora, 1402, on the eastern boundary of the Ottoman Empire, Timur's and Bajazet's hosts met in a sanguinary conflict. It was a battle of nations between the Tartars and Turks. Bajazet succumbed, and was made prisoner by the Tartars. The Ottoman Empire seemed lost.

But Tartar rule was too ephemeral, — one of those meteoric phenomena that appear and vanish. Bajazet died in captivity; but his body was restored to his sons, who interred it at Brusa.

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It was, therefore, these two sultans, Murad I. and Bajazet I., who subjugated nearly the entire Balkan peninsula, or present European Turkey.

### MOHAMMED I., 1403 (1413)-1421.

After the Tartar invasion, and Bajazet's death, the Ottoman Empire was divided into three, afterwards into two parts, as Bajazet's sons seized the territories. Soliman reigned at Adrianople over the European domain; Isa at Brusa, over western Asia Minor; and Mohammed at Amasia, over eastern. Isa was soon overcome by Mohammed; so that one brother ruled the European, the other the Asiatic, half of the Ottoman Empire. After Soliman's death, a fourth brother, Mousa, took possession of his domain, was conquered by Mohammed (1413), from which time forth Mohammed I. was sole ruler.

Compared to that of his predecessors, his reign was remarkably peaceful. He was at peace with the adjacent Christian powers of Europe, and tried particularly to establish amicable relations with Servia, Wallachia, Hungary, and Byzantium, by means of treaties. By contemporaries he is unanimously mentioned as a just, mild, enlightened, and peace-loving prince.

### MURAD II., 1421-1451.

Murad II. renewed the treaties of peace with all the above-mentioned Christian nations. With Hungary alone he became involved in a quarrel. which, under its renowned and valiant leader, John Huniades, won glorious victories at Hermanstadt and Nissa in 1442 and 1443, but was subsequently so completely defeated in the same territory in which the Servians were routed sixty years before by the Ottomans (1389), that they sacrificed all the advantages they had previously gained. Like his predecessor Mohammed I., Murad II. sought to extend his boundaries in Asia to points where fortified towns could be built. Murad II. was successful in the south of the peninsula. Thessalonica (Salonika), one of the largest and most important commercial towns nominally under Greek rule, but occupied by the Venetians, voluntarily surrendered to the Ottomans. Corinth, the key of the Peloponnesus, the Isthmus, and Patras with its excellent harbor, came under the sway of Murad II. He conquered, besides, a considerable portion of Albania.

Peace was disturbed in various ways in the interior. To escape strangulation, Murad's two younger brothers fled to Constantinople. With the assistance of the Greek emperors, various rebellions were set on foot from there, and successfully but cruelly suppressed by Murad II. By harboring and secretly abetting fugitive and rebellious Ottoman princes, Constantinople and the Greek emperors had become obnoxious.

Murad II. already entertained the design of completing the downfall of the Byzantine Empire; but death prevented its execution. He died in January of 1451 at Adrianople.

# MOHAMMED II., 1451-1481.

The conqueror of Constantinople! His first act was the strangulation of his brother; his second, the renewal of old treaties of peace, and the negotiations of new ones, with his Christian neighbors in western Europe, and his Mohammedan ones in eastern Asia. The brothers of his father, Murad II., had found a hiding-place behind the walls of Constantinople, at the foot of the tottering Byzantine throne, and attempted rebellions from there. Another Ottoman prince ,

resided in Constantinople at that time, - Orchan, a grandson of Soliman, the son of Bajazet I. With this Orchan, the Greek Emperor Constantine XIII. threatened the sultan as a claimant to the throne. This hastened the long-intended conquest of Constantinople. No danger threatened the Turks from this quarter, because all the approaches to the city were in their hands. It could not even obtain its supply of food from the land-side, but was compelled to get them from foreign ships on the coast. The most urgent expenses were defrayed by rents paid by the Venetians and Genoese for the use of certain islands and harbors. A more pitiful extinction of a state, or the sadder end of a dynasty, than that of the Greek emperors of the house of Palæologus, is absolutely impossible. As long as a powerless handful of Christian warriors stood upon its walls, and around the throne of its shadowy Christian emperor, the last hope of Oriental Christendom, of all Christendom in fact, rested on the city of the Constantines. After its fall, the East seemed hopelessly surrendered to Mohammedanism, and all Christendom lost. A long series of Christian prophecies of this

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and similar import had, indeed, preceded its conquest by the Ottomans for a century. The year 1553 saw the terrible prophecy fulfilled. In the fear of it, and its universally overwhelming effect, lay the great historical significance of the fall of Constantinople. It was the last siege it had to undergo; but how many sieges preceded this last one! The city had been besieged by the Hellenes three times (under Pausanias, Alcibiades, and Leo, the general of Philip of Macedon), three times by the Roman emperors (under Severus, Maximus, and Constantine), twice by Byzantine rebels (Thomas and Tornicius), twice by Byzantine emperors (Alexius and Michael), twice by the Bulgarians, once by the Persians, once by the Avari, once by the Russians, once by the Latins, seven times by the Arabs, five times by the Turks (twice under Bajazet, then under Mousa, Murad II., and Mohammed II.). At the fifth Turkish siege, after having been previously conquered seven times, it was conquered for the eighth time under the seventh Palæologus by Mohammed II., the seventh Ottoman sultan.

Constantinople was already seriously threat-

ened by the Turks in 1391; and every year the fatal storming of the city was feared, producing a life of perfect terror. After that, the fortifications were kept in tolerable repair. In the abovementioned year, the emperor, John Palæologus, caused three of the finest churches to be torn down in order to furnish stone for the fortifications. Constantinople, the metropolis of Oriental Christendom, was obliged to permit the building of the first mosque by the accursed infidels, as it was impossible to avoid all contact with the hostile Ottomans, who had possession of the territory around the city in every direction. The preparations for the siege began as early as 1552. While the Turkish army amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand men, and their navy to four hundred sail, the lists of the Greek emperor show only forty-nine hundred and seventy-three actual soldiers and defenders. Constantinople fell on the 29th of May, 1553. Constantine I., surnamed the Great, had enlarged and rebuilt the city, and raised it to the rank of a metropolis. Fifteen hundred and twenty years later, it fell under Constantine XIII.; and Mohammed II. was the first Ottoman sultan who made a magnifi-

cent entry into Constantinople. The head of the last Greek emperor, Constantine XIII., and that of the Ottoman prince and pretender Orchan, were laid at his feet. The most valuable relics of Christendom, such as the right hand of John the Baptist, Christ's crown of thorns (which had once been pledged to Venice for 13,134 ducats), the lance and sponge of the crucifixion, &c., were transferred by the irony of fate to the treasury of the sultan. Hundreds of Christian chapels and churches were transformed into Mohammedan mosques. Up to the year 1477 the fortifications were rebuilt more strongly than before, only to serve as a formidable.bulwark against Christianity. Just as Christendom was once tortured by the belief that the fall of Constantinople portended the extinction of Christianity in the East, perhaps of Christianity generally, so to-day the belief that the conquest of Constantinople will put an end to the Ottoman Empire awakens joyous hopes among Christian nations.

The news of the fall of Constantinople spread a panic through Europe. The small Christian princes on the coast and on the islands voluntarily hastened to offer a high tribute. The Pope urgently counselled a general crusade against the Turks. Even the emperor Frederic III., an unusually inert ruler, was this time roused from his habitual inactivity. Serious resistance on the part of the Western princes was not to be thought of, as they were hostile to each other. Italy was torn by countless factions. Serious differences prevailed between England and France; and England itself was weakened by inner disturbances. Between the mighty republics of Genoa and Aragon serious coolness existed for a long time; while Charles the VII. of France, and Philip the Good of Burgundy, were deterred from any common undertaking by mutual distrust. The German emperor summoned the princes who were quarrelling with him and among themselves to attend a diet, from which he absented himself. Switzerland was filled with hatred against the Hapsburgs. John Huniades of Hungary was at variance with the magnates of the realm. Silesia was in the midst of a revolt against King Ladislaus. Alfonso of Naples made great promises, which he did not keep. Venice, well armed and rich, which had been counted upon, as its valuable possessions on the coasts of Morea and the islands of the Archipelago seemed greatly endangered, preferred to make peace with the sultans, purchasing for great sums the safety of all that could be saved. Finally and unfortunately, Pope Nicolas V. died; the only man of influence and consequence who had zealously urged a general movement against the Turks. His successor, Calixtus III., directed regular processions and public prayers to be held, and the daily ringing of the so-called "Turk-bell" in all the towns. Such measures were not calculated to work miracles. At a moment when the Ottomans rose like one man to unheard-of power, hurling blow upon blow against their enemies, this was the pitiful plight of Western Christendom. The advantages gained by the Turks are not to be wondered at, nor their exaction of others by shameless insolence.

In 1454 Mohammed II. demanded the whole of Servia. Prince George was forced to pay a yearly tribute of thirty thousand ducats; and at his death (1459) Servia became simply a Turkish province. Belgrade, an ancient border fortress, and a constant source of dissension between I

Christians and Mohammedans, fell into the power of the latter, but was reconquered by the former on the 6th of August, 1456: in consequence, Pope Calixtus III. ordained the Feast of the Transfiguration of Christ for that day, out of gratitude to Heaven. In 1458 and 1460, Demetrius and Thomas, brothers of the last Greek emperor, who still reigned in Sparta and Patras, were despoiled of the entire Peloponnesus, which, with the exception of a few seaport towns, was consolidated with the Ottoman Empire. The same fate befell the principality of Athens, the last seat of the Franks on Hellenic soil; and the duke, who since 1444 had annually paid a tribute of thirty thousand ducats, was now beheaded by order of the sultan. The island of Lesbos and Wallachia were subjugated in 1462, and in 1463 the greater part of Bosnia.

The King of Bosnia was taken prisoner, and executed. It was among the political maxims of conquering Turkey to exterminate the princely dynasties of subjugated dominions in order to avoid all danger of revolt. In their place, governors or hospodars (*woiwods*) were appointed, who were dismissed and replaced at pleasure; from

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whom, besides, enormous sums were exacted for their worthless dignity; by which means the wellknown despotism and policy of extortion was promoted among these puppet princes. At that time, compelled by exorbitant demands, only one power offered energetic and lasting resistance to the Turks; namely, Venice. Secretly supported by the Albanians and the Greeks, for sixteen years the republic fought with varying success for its possessions in Morea and in the Archipelago coveted by the Turks. Completely exhausted and vanquished, Venice was finally obliged to end this struggle, the hardest it had ever maintained, by the peace of Constantinople, which cost it the finest seaports of Morea, the island of Lemnos, and many smaller islands.

At the same time, Mohammed's armies were fighting against Albania, whose valiant prince, Scanderbeg, had resisted the aggressions of Murad II. and Mohammed II. for thirty years. Unfortunately, this prince died in 1467. Prince Cassovitch of Herzegovina died in the same year: he had been wrangling with his sons, instead of preparing for approaching danger. Since 1466, Herzegovina may be looked upon as a Turkish province. In Albania, with the help of the Venetians, a number of fortified towns still offered resistance, some of which it required years of siege to reduce. When the strongest of them - Croya, Alessio (ancient Lyssus), and Skutarisurrendered in 1478, and were ceded to the sultan at the conclusion of peace with Venice, the fate of Albania was also decided. While Mohammed was simultaneously making war upon Bosnia, Venice, Albania, and Herzegovina, in the eventful decade following the first half of the fifteenth century, the little principality of Sinope, and the small empire of Trebizond, were incorporated with his realm, but above all, wholly and permanently, after a ten-years' war, the sultanat of Karaman. The sultans of this land were already compelled to render allegiance to Murad I.; and, as long as this country was ruled by its own princes, it was never quiet. In proportion as Ottoman territory extended in Europe, the anxiety of the princes of Asia Minor and western Asia increased at its rapidly-growing power. The Sultan of Karaman, an Ottoman vassal, had entered into a conspiracy with other Asiatic princes. War was carried into his domain, his family ex-

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terminated, and Karaman assimilated with the Ottoman Empire 1466.

The island of Negropont or Eubœa was captured in 1470. War was begun simultaneously against Moldavia and the Crimea. For twenty years, Moldavia had been one of the tributary states: its new regent, Stephen, refused the tribute-money; and in 1476 the province was terribly devastated. The Crimean Peninsula, and the districts north of the Black Sea, from the river Bog to the Volga and the Caspian Sea, were filled with a Tartar population under a khan: at an undefined line to the north of them Russian territory began. The khan of these mighty Crimean Tartars rendered allegiance to the sul-Through this vassal tribe of Tartars, tan. Turkey first came in contact with Russia; an event which proved so significant in the future. The power of these bandit Tartars must not be underrated. In times of peril they furnished the sultans with a contingent of a hundred thousand men, and occasionally became a sore infliction to their Russian and Polish neighbors, besides causing continual misunderstandings and quarrels between these states and their sovereign the sultan. With Tartar territory Kaffa also fell to the Ottomans, which was the centre of Genoese trade in the Black Sea (1475). The booty taken is said to have been enormous. The entire defeat of the Turks at Broos (Szasz-Varos) in Transvlvania by the brave prince (woiwod) Stephen Bathori, in 1479, is the only shadow that dimmed the victorious career of Mohammed II. Mohammed did not survive the peace with Venice, which was to prove so important to the Turks. His people most deservedly surnamed him "the Conqueror." Two empires (Byzantium and Trebizond), seven extensive realms (Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, Morea, Moldavia, and Karaman), a considerable number of larger and smaller islands, and nearly two hundred cities, were the acquisitions of Mohammed the conqueror.

Since Constantinople became the seat and metropolis of the sultans, a series of new offices and dignities had been created. That of mufti, created soon after the conquest of Constantinople by Mohammed II., is the only one we shall speak of here.

The mufti, or Sheik-ul-Islam, is the spiritual head of the state, — the supreme head of spiritual

and temporal law. It is the principal duty of the Sheik-ul-Islam to maintain the faith, according to form and meaning, in its original purity and integrity. In doubtful cases of law, the Sheik-ul-Islam is the highest appeal, with unrestricted judgment and final decision.

His opinions (decrees, or fetwa) are unconditionally valid: neither judge nor scholar dares to subject his utterances to criticism. The fetwa, therefore, passed as the highest moral authority. For this reason, the sultans were very cautious in their appointment of muftis; that is, they chose men, who, they were perfectly sure, would never oppose the commands and wishes of the sultan. No sultan, probably, ever propounded a question to a mufti without previous assurance that it would be answered according to his wishes. The muftis, on their part, decided the legal questions brought before them according to the previouslyascertained wishes of the sultan. The sultans were careful not to submit questions which would conflict too seriously with the law and with justice. The muftis particularly avoided giving fetwa in open contradiction to Islamism, in order not to undermine their own authority. Against infidels and enemies the grossest injustice and breaches of trust were often justified by these fetwa, and even imposed as duties. In order to define the legal stand-point from which these fetwa were issued, it need only be stated that a treaty of peace with unbelievers was declared invalid, if, by breaking it, greater advantage might be gained by the Moslem. Every peace concluded with heretics, that is, Persians, was considered at an end as soon as the Moslem had once more gathered the necessary forces. In the course of time, these *fetwa* likewise became a formidable weapon against the snltans themselves; for by them rebellion was often not only justified, but even commanded, against a bad sultan, and the dethronement of unpopular ones directed: this was always followed by the removal of the mufti issuing such a *fetwa*, by the incoming sultan. The newly-appointed mufti, on his part, then justified the removal, even the execution, of his predecessor, in order to hold his own office with greater security. In 1703 the third and last mufti was executed in this way. In proportion as this office became purchasable, it lost in dignity. Later, in the nineteenth century, these Sheik-

ul-Islams combined with the Ulemas, at whose head they became the inveterate opponents of all innovations and reforms imposed by progressive European civilization. Thus, here as elsewhere, dogmas became the inevitable hinderance to progress.

## BAJAZET II., 1481-1512.

Bajazet was a peace-loving prince, with a decided taste for science and literature. He renewed the treaties existing between the Ottomans and other empires, and endeavored to negotiate new ones. In consequence, the system of embassies developed visibly in Constantinople; and subsequently the avoidance of war, or a compromise, was often diplomatically arranged. Lively diplomatic intercourse took place, principally with Italy, where six powers were vying with each other for the sultan's favor, --- Venice, Naples, Florence, Milan, Pisa, and the Pope. None of these Christian powers scorned to destroy a Christian opponent with the help of the infidels. From the same Papal chair the curse of the Church was hurled at the Ottomans, or the blessing of Heaven promised them for their assistance,

just as it happened. At first, these diplomatic relations were sought only by one side. The establishment of permanent embassies was regarded with favor at Constantinople; but none were despatched to foreign courts. All might come to seek help of the "Sublime Porte," which disdained to seek it abroad. This selfconceit and overbearing pride was crushed soon enough: at present the relation is more than reversed; for foreign powers mostly define the action of the sultans. The wars which Bajazet carried on resulted from the condition of the times, being for the most part unavoidable, if the Ottoman realm desired to retain its hardly acquired greatness. After a frequent repetition of the Turkish irruptions into Transylvania and Hungary, peace was finally concluded between Sultan Bajazet II. and King Corvinus of Hungary. Moldavia and Wallachia were to pay tribute to Turkey as well as to Hungary, --- a demand which proved that Hungary had by no means surrendered its sovereign rights over these two provinces. The conditions of peace were not advantageous to the Turks; but the sultan was the more willing to conclude it, as he required his

armies in eastward Asia, against the Persians, where, if victorious, the Turks had unusual advantages in prospect. The conquests of the two sultans differed in this, that Mohammed enlarged his realm westward into Europe, while Bajazet extended his eastward into Asia.

As long as Persia was weakened at home by civil war, party strife, usurpations, and contentions among the tribes, it was not dangerous to the Ottoman Empire, that had spread over nearly all Asia Minor, and part of Armenia: but as soon as guiet was restored, and it became possible to develop its strength under the rule of one sovereign, Persia began to be formidable; the only realm, in fact, that held the balance of power equally with Turkey in Asia. While the Ottomans succeeded in subduing Egypt and Arabia, Persia, in spite of innumerable attacks by the Turks, has maintained its independence up to the present time. Both nations, although followers of Islam, were separated for centuries by a vital religious schism similar to that between the Greek and Roman-Catholic Churches. The Ottoman Turks as Sunni, or true believers, considered the Persians as Shii, apostates or heretics; the

original ground of separation being a difference of opinion concerning the succession of the Prophet. While the Sunnites considered the three caliphs - Abou-Bekir, Omar, and Osman as the real successors of the Prophet, the Shiites accepted Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. Both factions opposed each other violently soon after the Prophet's death. Ismael was a zealous Shii, and succeeded in making his party the prevalent one. A difference between Persians and Turks, even if it had been of purely political origin, naturally took the character of a religious war; while the religious differences, in time, combined more and more with politics. As religious wars are always distinguished by peculiar cruelty, these wars between the Turks and Persians were carried on with great exasperation; and their hostility continues to the present day. Finally Ismael, an enterprising and judicious prince, the founder of the Shaffi dynasty, succeeded in becoming sole ruler of Persia in 1500. He sought Bajazet's friendship; but border troubles soon arose, and with them began a long series of often interrupted but ever violently renewed struggles between Turks and Persians in the reign of

Bajazet II. More relentlessly than under Bajazet, these wars were continued under his successor, Selim I., who opposed the Shii with fanatic rage, forty thousand of whom are said to have been put to death in the Ottoman Empire alone. In the battle of Tshaldiran, near Tabriz, the Persians succumbed in 1514. Northern Mesopotamia, the districts Diar-Bekir and Mosul, and the territory generally to the ancient river Nymphius (that empties into the Tigris, and even then formed the boundary between the Latin-Byzantine and the Persian Empires), fell to the Turks.

Bajazet's reign was remarkable not only for the beginning of the wars between the Turks and Persians, but equally for the commencement of hostilities between the Turks and the Egyptian mameluke sultans. The continuation and success of these wars, however, fell to his successor, Selim I. Turkey, also, came in contact with Russia for the first time under Bajazet II. The first Russian embassy from the Czar Ivan III., at Moscow, came to Constantinople in 1495 to secure to Russian merchants the privilege of trading in Ottoman territory. It was also Bajazet who sent help against Ferdinand of Castile and Aragon to Beni-Ahmer, the last Moorish prince in Spain who resided in the Alhambra at Grenada. The internal repose of the empire under Bajazet II. was variously disturbed, at first by the intrigues of his brother Djem, and lastly by the rebellion of his third son, Selim. Djem's history is characteristic in more than one respect. At first he attempted to seize the Asiatic half of the Ottoman Empire. The feeling of unity between European and Asiatic Turkey was not yet rooted deeply enough. To a certain degree, both formed different administrative districts; while in the army, European and Asiatic soldiers fought separately. In battles on European soil, the right wing was formed of Europeans, the left of Asiatic troops (vassals or spahis). In Asiatic territory, the order was reversed: the centre and connection with both wings were formed by the janizaries. Brusa, the capital of Asiatic Turkey, the ancient residence of the Ottoman sultans, had repeatedly been, and was then, the centre of rebellion. Djem was defeated, and fled to Egypt, where the mameluke sultans were already embroiled with the Ottoman ruler. From Egypt he returned to Asia Minor. Defeated a second time, he fled to the knighthood on the island of Rhodes, which conveyed him to France for safety, after highly advantageous promises from the prince in case he came to the throne. In France Djem lived like a prisoner at large. The kings of France, Hungary, and Naples, and the Pope, did all they could to place him on the throne, for their own ultimate advantage. As long as there was a prospect of success, France, Spain, Hungary, Venice, Naples, and the Pope quarrelled about him. Thus he finally came to Rome, and resided in the Vatican. As soon as his cause was considered lost, and difficulties likely to arise with the reigning sultan by protecting Djem, none of these states would suffer him within its borders; and the notorious Borgian Pope, Alexander VI., had him poisoned at his own instigation, or at that of the sultan's ambassador. Bajazet II. had three sons to succeed him. The eldest, devoted to literary pursuits, voluntarily declined the succession. Selim, the third son, rebelled openly in 1510, made way with his older brother, and dethroned his father, who died soon after.

### SELIM I., 1512-1520.

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Selim I. was one of the most brutal and cruel among the sultans. The immunity of embassies was shamelessly violated. Friend and foe were strangled as soon as the least suspicion or caprice suggested it: even his eldest brother, who abdicated in Selim's favor, was strangled. He allowed the grossest excesses among his hordes in his constant invasions, and ravaged fanatically among the Shiis. He finally desired to massacre all the Christians in his dominions, but could not obtain a *fetwa* from the mufti to carry out this plan.

His greatest achievement was the subjugation of Egypt, where differences already existed between Mohammed II. and the mameluke sultans of Egypt. The word "mameluke" is the Arabic name for *purchased slaves*, who formed the caliph's body-guard. During the decay of the power and greatness of the caliphs, these mamelukes, like the prætorians of Rome or the janizaries of Turkey, were debased to an utterly demoralized and ungovernable rabble, ever ready for tumult and rebellion. In several caliphates,

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some of these mamelukes, or slaves of the bodyguard, had elevated themselves to the throne, but nowhere attained such consequence as in Egypt. Their importance here did not consist alone in the territorial extent of their ascending power, but likewise in its duration, lasting nearly two centuries and a half. After Egypt had been successively under Ptolemæan, Roman, and Byzantine rule, it finally fell into the power of the caliphs of Bagdad. The Fatimites then created a caliphate for the wide area of Egypt, which became so powerful, that violent contentions arose between the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt for supremacy, till finally, in Egypt as elsewhere, a mameluke usurped the caliphate and the throne. The Fatimite caliphs of Egypt had gradually taken possession of Syria, where the wildest confusion prevailed during the times of the crusades; and a constant change of rulers was taking place. After the expulsion of the Franks, the mamelukes again seized the government in Syria, which they occasionally extended over parts of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Owing to the territorial extension following the subjugation of Shah Ismael of Persia, the boundaries

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of the Ottoman Empire now extended south as far as Syria, - a domain under the Egyptian mamelukes.. Border troubles could no longer be avoided on either side. The battle of Aleppo was fought in 1516. The mameluke sultan Ghawri, an old man of eighty, succumbed. The Turks owed their victories over Persians and mamelukes principally to their artillery, which the Persians lacked entirely, and the Egyptians partially. With Aleppo, the border stronghold, the Ottomans took nearly the whole of Syria. There is nowhere a trace of determined and stubborn resistance. At the battle of Ridania, 1517, not far from Cairo, the mamelukes were terribly defeated once more. The Turks plundered, massacred, and devastated Cairo; and the last mameluke sultan, Touman Bey, was captured and executed in that year. Thus Egypt was added to the Ottoman Empire in 1517. Henceforward the sultans also assumed the protectorate of the holy cities Mecca and Medina, formerly exercised by the caliphs of Egypt, which now gave the sultans pre-eminence in the entire Mohammedan world. The newly-formed Barbary States, Algiers and Tunis, also acknowledged their sovereignty. By this growth of the Ottoman Empire, Christian Europe was thrown into great alarm. Leo X. caused a general crusade to be preached against the Turks, but, of course, without success. The reign of Selim I. was brief, but unusually prosperous. He had not enlarged his realm to the north and west of Europe, but all the more to the south and east, in Asia and Africa.

## SOLIMAN I. (The Magnificent), 1520-1566.

After Bajazet's death, two of his sons reigned together for about seven years, till 1410, — Soliman in European, Mohammed in Asiatic Turkey. This division of the empire was unlawful; but the dual government did not last long, and Mohammed was soon left to reign alone. This Soliman, who is sometimes mentioned as Soliman I. (which would make Soliman the Magnificent. the second sultan of that name), is not here considered in the succession of sultans.

Soliman fully deserved the surname of "Magnificent:" he combined every quality of a perfect Ottoman monarch as he should be, — mind, character, purity, and an imposing presence. Under Soliman I. the Ottoman Empire reached its most

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flourishing period. After him begins its decline, the germs of which are already to be found in Soliman's time.

This reign became significant for the West by the beginning of a series of wars for the possession of Hungary. Border conflicts, mutual invasions, and devastating irruptions, had long preceded them, like harbingers of a terrible storm; but the actual war for conquest, the aim of which was nothing less than the acquisition of all Hungary and Transylvania, begins with Soliman I. The condition of Hungary was so peculiar, that the conflict for this territory was necessarily long and varying. The Turkish wars in and about Hungary have occupied a space of more than two centuries.

It was a pity that at a time when able and enterprising sultans were at the head of the Ottoman Empire, and their policy of conquest was directed towards Europe and the West, the Christian states of Europe should be disintegrated by contending interests striving to annihilate each other by sanguinary wars. This was the case in the reign of Mohammed II. the Conqueror, in the fifteenth, and in that of Soli-

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man I. the Magnificent, in the sixteenth, century. When Soliman I. began his wars against Hungary, in 1521, a boy of fourteen, Louis II., occupied the Hungarian throne. When this king fell on the battle-field of Mohacs, or rather perished in the swamps near Mohacs, the chiefs of powerful factions - John Zapolya, prince or woiwod of Transylvania, Stephen Bathory, Hungary's general in many a Turkish battle, and King Ferdinand, brother-in-law of Louis II. -- contended for the crown, instead of using every endeavor to unite against the mighty Ottoman conqueror. It was pitiful to see how each of these aspirants to the crown appealed to the enemies of his country, outdoing each other in promises to gain their favor, in order by their aid to crush his rivals. No aid was to come from the West. Its mightiest princes, the Emperor Charles V. and King Francis of France, began a long war in the same year that the Turks invaded Hungary (1521), which, with some interruptions, was carried on for a period of twenty years, until the peace of Crespy in 1544. In the German Empire, princes and people lived in bitter feud in consequence of Luther's church reforms; and the diets convened

to consider the Turkish war were useless: even Luther's writings "On the War against the Turks," however impressive, had no other effect than that of creating a profound sensation. Other countries afflicted by internal broils caused by religious reforms fared no better than the German Empire, especially England under its coarse king, Henry VIII. But France, animated solely by the wish to destroy the Hapsburg power, did not hesitate to enter into closer relations with the infidels, incessantly encouraging war against Austria. Italy was dismembered, exhausted, and powerless. The only power capable of proceeding energetically, the republic of Venice, was bent solely upon deriving the greatest possible advantage for its traffic from the general confusion, in so far as it was not implicated in the wars of the Christian powers.

The holy fathers preferred to hurl bulls of excommunication against the apostate heretics, the Protestants, instead of other action, and, by virtue of their office, to exhort all Christian princes to act in concert, — an effort which, however, would have availed them little enough. It is not astonishing, under such circumstances,

that Ottoman arms achieved victory upon victory on the wide plains of Hungary. At the outset of the war, Belgrade, the key to Hungary, fell before the Turks in 1521. While the conflicts continued uninterruptedly on the borders, an incursion was undertaken, that laid waste the territory of the Drave and Save upward to Carniola, in 1524. Peterwardein was taken, and the Hungarian army destroyed at the battle of Mohacs, on the 29th of August, 1526. Ofen, or Buda, Hungary's principal fortress, capitulated Sept. 8, 1529. Soliman had already appeared before its walls in 1526; but he had rapidly retreated with his armies on receiving unfavorable news from Asia. Vienna was approached almost without resistance. Luckily, disturbances among his troops, who clamored to go into winter-quarters, compelled the sultan to raise the siege, after an unsuccessful attack (from the oth to 14th of October, 1529), and begin his retreat. Thus danger was averted from the imperial city; and the following years were passed in preparations, negotiations, and constant embassies, till peace was concluded between Turkey and Austria in 1533. The sultan

had previously acknowledged John Zapolya, Woiwod of Transylvania, as King of Hungary, and caused him to be crowned once more with great pomp, after the capture of Buda in 1529. This sovereign could never become formidable to the sultan, and might be removed at any time. At the conclusion of this peace, the sultan recognized Ferdinand of Austria as King of Hungary.

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Soliman could not have done better than to leave to Ferdinand the royal title of Hungary. Ferdinand and Zapolya would probably destroy each other in partisan guarrels. Of course, Ferdinand was now obliged to pay tribute for Hungary. The sultan considered himself lord paramount of Hungary; and, principally because Ferdinand refused to consider himself a tributary of the Porte, war was renewed in 1541. The sultan refused Hungary to Ferdinand; and on the 2d of September, 1541, Soliman entered Buda. Meanwhile Zapolya died. His widow was obliged to render homage to the sultan for her son, and Hungary was once more given to the Zapolyas. Ferdinand yielded : he offered the sultan a yearly tribute (a gift) of one hundred thousand florins for his re-instalment in Hungary. The sultan demanded, above all, the previously-conquered part of Hungary, and all the conquered fortresses. The negotiations dragged till 1544 without result, and war began once more. Soon Slavonia, Croatia, and all of Hungary to Stuhlweissenburg, were in the power of the Turks. Ferdinand opened new negotiations for peace, which lasted three years.

Finally, a truce was established for five years. The sultan could now afford to be more exorbitant in his demands, as Francis I., who stood in close relations to Turkey, had concluded a peace with Charles V. (at Crespy, 1544), and was left at liberty to act, besides not having Charles to fear, who immediately became involved in the war of Shmalkalden. For the non-Turkish part of Hungary, as to this alone attaches the title of the Hapsburgs to the Hungarian crown, Ferdinand was compelled to pay a yearly tribute of fifty thousand ducats to the sultan. In their documents the Hapsburgs say "gift of honor," instead of *tribute*, which, unfortunately, alters nothing in the real state of the case.

As far as Stuhlweissenburg, Buda, and Gran, all the territory remained Turkish. From 1541 to 1686, Buda was the seat of a Turkish governor. Turkish Hungary was divided into twelve sanshaks, or government districts, — Buda, Gran, Stuhlweissenburg, Mohacs, Fünfkirchen, Siklos, Neograd, Wesprim, Szegedin, Velika, &c. A reference to the map will show how much of Hungary had fallen to Turkey.

As early as 1545, a new regulation of rates and taxes was prescribed for Hungary. Even justice, in certain cases, was administered according to the Koran. The Porte signified by all these innovations that it did not intend again to surrender this domain.

The sultan concluded a truce with Charles V. and the Pope, and with Ferdinand at the same time. Ten years before, in 1537, the Pope, Charles V., and Venice, had entered into the so-called "Holy League" against France and Turkey. Venice withdrew from the league in 1540, because it suffered great injury from the terrible Barbary chief and pirate, Cheraddin Barbarossa, who was also admiral of the Turkish fleet. The so-called Duchy of the Archipelago, including many islands ceded to Venice by the emperor Henry VL, was forfeited to the Turks. Venice was,

besides, obliged to pay an indemnity of three hundred thousand ducats: it was ready to make these great sacrifices in order not to be injured in its commercial interests by the increasing influence of France in Constantinople. Venice never regained its former influence. It was principally his war with maritime Venice that induced Soliman to provide a powerful navy. He further increased this fleet by an alliance with the Barbary chief, Cheraddin Barbarossa of Algiers. Not only Venice was greatly injured, but also the maritime power of Spain threatened in the western Mediterranean. This last circumstance particularly roused Charles V. against Turkey. Charles V., as well as the Pope, could only offer weak resistance to Venice after its peace with Turkey. Both were included in the peace between Soliman I. and Ferdinand in the treaty of 1547.

In 1551 the war with Austria was renewed. Soliman considered himself lord paramount of Transylvania, as the Woiwod Zapolya of Transylvania and his widow had paid homage to him for their son, by means of whom he intended to acquire Hungary as a tributary domain. Soliman learned that the Transylvanian deputies had secretly rendered homage to Ferdinand of Austria. Thereupon Hungary was immediately invaded by Soliman in 1551; and Temesvar was taken after a determined struggle in 1552, and with it the whole Banat fell to Turkey. The Turks won a splendid victory near Szegedin, and Erlau was obliged to capitulate. Ferdinand offered to pay a hundred and fifty thousand ducats annually for Hungary, and forty thousand for Transvlvania; but the sultan would not accept the offer. The Turks were in the ascendant everywhere. The siege of Szigeth began in 1556. Between 1556 and 1558, the Turks made destructive incursions into Carinthia and Styria. The massacres and devastations in the border districts continued, and a truce for eight years was not concluded until 1562. Its principal stipulations were, to leave the Turks in possession of their conquests, and a tribute of thirty thousand ducats to be paid yearly by Ferdinand, and no interference with Transylvania.

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Ferdinand died in 1564. He had carried on three wars for Hungary against Turkey. His successor, Maximilian I., began by showing him-

self less yielding to the Turks. Soliman at once renewed hostilities in 1564. The fastness Szigeth capitulated in 1566, and Soliman the Magnificent died in camp during the siege. His successor, Selim I., established a truce in the year following (1567) with Maximilian II., the general stipulations of which were similar to previous ones. Eastern Hungary, - including Fünfkirchen, Stuhlweissenburg, Gran, - northward to Erlau, remained to Turkey. Maximilian was forced to continue the tribute for the rest of Hungary, and abstained from all interference with Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Soliman had made war four times in and around Hungary, -1521-33, 1541-47, 1551-62, 1564-67. Simultaneously he had waged long wars in the East against Persia, where the Shah Tamasp had succeeded Ismael (1524-76), a worthy contemporary of the great Soliman. As before, these conflicts assumed the character of religious wars, beginning in 1533. Bagdad and Tabriz were conquered 1534-36; and with them the beautiful district of Azerbaijan, and the lower valley of the Tigris, surrendered to the Turks. From that time Bagdad had the same importance for the Ottoman

Empire in the East that Belgrade had in the West. In 1548 the war broke out with renewed violence. The shah's own brother Elkas, desiring the throne, and having become a fugitive, principally urged the sultan to renew hostilities. Wan was conquered, and with it the extensive and beautiful district of Georgia. The peace of 1553 secured their conquest to the Turks; and the Ottoman Empire was enlarged by Soliman to the east and west, in Europe and Asia. Ottoman power was likewise strengthened and increased in Africa and the Mediterranean. Under Soliman's predecessor, Selim I., the Turks had conquered the districts of Algiers and Tunis on the northern coast of Africa, where, up to this time, the Spaniards held large possessions.

From that date these states became real Barbary (Barbaresque or piratical) states. The most powerful and daring of these Barbary chiefs made Selim I. ratify and sanction his seizure of Algiers as a tributary state. These piratical states had a powerful ally in the Porte, and the sultans an excellent tool in these pirates to use against the maritime Christian powers of the West. Unfortunately the Porte nurtured these

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states, under its protectorate, into a power which it was finally unable to resist.

When Charles V. ascended the Spanish throne, he made the subjugation of Algiers and Tunis one of the objects of his life. Spanish influence in the East depended upon Spanish supremacy in the Mediterranean, and the preponderating influence of Spain against France. His chief undertaking was a campaign against Tunis, and its conquest in 1535. The devastation and butchery of the Christian Spanish troops can only be compared to the horrible cruelty of the Barbarians. This campaign against the infidels was solemnly celebrated like a crusade. It followed as a matter of course that Spain at once became involved with the sultan as protector of these pirate states. Partly to carry on a maritime war effectually against Spain and Venice (1537-40), Soliman I. had greatly increased the Turkish fleet, and placed it, with large discretionary power, in command of Cheraddin Barbarossa of Algiers. Because hostilities were directed against Spain, this powerful fleet was increased by France, which joined the Turkish and Barbary fleet. This maritime war

continued uninterruptedly from 1525 to the death of Cheraddin Barbarossa in 1546 and the peace of 1547. Spain could not regain its former control of power in the Mediterranean ; while Venice more and more lost its influence with the Porte and its advantages in Levantine trade, owing to the good relations of France with Turkey.

After Henry IV. and Louis XIII. had greatly strengthened the French navy, the importance of France increased in the Mediterranean. Tt had gained so much by its friendly relations to the Porte, that the ships of European powers were only allowed to trade with the Ottoman ports or islands under the French flag, which also brought them under the consular jurisdiction of France in the Levant. The circumstance that the Christians of the Orient (five or six bishoprics in the Archipelago, the Copts in Egypt, and the Maronites on Lebanon) claimed the protection of France in consequence of its favored position, led to its increased influence in the East, and strengthened its consequence in the West. Especially the treaty of 1604 between France and the Porte conferred advantages upon the latter that roused the envy of the other maritime powers. The ambassadors of England and Spain opposed French interests in Constantinople by every means in their power. Neither power met with much success, as Spain and England were divided by a different faith and by similar commercial interests, and sought to weaken each other in every way, which indirectly increased the influence of France. Besides, the position of Spain involved it in contradictions. On the one hand, its Catholic conscience and the will of Charles V. impelled it to continual warfare against infidels, and the continued enmity between the Turks and Austrians concerned the Spanish kings, being Hapsburgs: Spain, on the other hand, strove to be on the best possible terms with the Porte (as is shown by its treaties of 1587, 1619, 1624, &c.), in order that its Italian territory might be left intact, and its declining traffic in the Mediterranean not be still more injured. The Porte was not averse to these advances, because it really feared the maritime power of Spain, and because Spain's assistance of Austria need not then be feared: besides, Spain might be induced to use its influence with Poland in favor of the Porte.

The conquest of the island of Rhodes served greatly to increase the maritime importance of Turkey, — an event which took place in the early part of the reign of Soliman I., in the year 1522. The sultan could easily venture this conquest, as the order of knighthood to which it belonged (St. John) could not expect assistance from abroad, as both of the states which were able to afford it (France and Spain) were at war with each other, and the powerlessness of the Pope was sufficiently well known. The chief importance of this island to Turkey was as a connecting link between it and recently-conquered Egypt, — a connection which was subsequently completed by the conquest of Cyprus.

The merit of Soliman the Magnificent does not consist in the acquisition of power in the territorial aggrandizement of the Ottoman Empire only, but equally in the internal development of the state. The army system was greatly improved by entirely dispensing with irregular troops, which were mostly distinguished for rapid flight and indiscriminate pillage, and by substituting a discipline before unknown. He caused a *code* to be written relating to all civic condi-

tions, the decrees of which are mostly valid to this day. He organized the taxation and finances of the country. Land-taxes, rents, tariffs, and market-dues were regulated; fixed rates established for the most necessary articles of food; even laws for the protection of animals were not wanting. The tribute-money for his territories was fixed. These tributes were, in many cases, oppressive to the respective countries: for instance, Egypt alone had to pay one million two hundred thousand ducats annually. The regular total income of the state can safely be estimated at from eight to nine million ducats. He took great interest in the improvement of education, in the advancement of art and science, especially literature and architecture.

The close of his life was troubled by a war between his sons, who contended for the succession during his lifetime. Both of them held viceroyalties in Asia. The younger and inferior one, Selim, was to be raised to the throne by the intrigues of his mother, who controlled the sultan in his old age. Mustapha, the elder and superior one, fled to Persia, to the Shah Tamasp, with his four sons. Soliman wished to avoid a war of

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succession and a double empire at all hazards, and made his friendly relations to Persia dependent on the surrender, or some other disposition, of the fugitive princes. The shah had all five of them put to death. A gift of four hundred thousand ducats, and assurances of the sultan's friendship, were the reward for this murder and friendly office.

Soliman made war reluctantly in his latter days. It was clear to him that continued wars exhausted the realm. His last injunctions were for a peace policy in the future. In the night of the 5th of September, 1566, this great ruler died in the midst of his besieging army, before the surrender of Szigeth had been secured, which was his last wish.

He had raised the Ottoman Empire to its highest point of power and fame. At the same time, Ismael had established the power of Persia by uniting the empire; Sigismund had once more secured the greatness and prosperity of Poland; Vassili Johannovitch had laid the foundation of Russia's might by the conquest of Astrachan, three neighbors and great contemporaries !

After the death of Soliman I. begins the de-

cline of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish jurist Kotshibeg mentions the following changes, that took place partly during and partly after the time of Soliman I., as the principal causes of decline:—

r. Previous sultans always presided in the divan, or council of ministers; but Soliman absented himself more and more. The administration of affairs fell almost exclusively to the viziers, or ministers; and the more venal these were, the more private interest took the place of public welfare in the divan. Soliman withdrew more and more from the current business of administration. By his rare presence, he intended to add to the majesty of the sultan. This voluntary withdrawal soon led to the custom of keeping the sultan from the sessions of the divan, and finally ended by the exclusion of the sultan from council and administration.

2. Formerly those only were admitted to the highest dignities (*vizierats*) who had held office and gained experience. Regardless of this, Soliman began to fill the highest offices, according to personal preference only, with favorites and relatives (brothers-in-law): he intended by this

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to show that his sovereign pleasure was above law and custom, thus establishing a precedent for the most arbitrary lawlessness. With favoritism, incompetency, and worthlessness, bribery and intrigue became the controlling element. In close connection with favoritism, the influence of the women, and the harem generally, became vigorous and fatal, since, by its means, worthless eunuchs were more and more invested with the highest offices.

3. With the arbitrary disposal of the highest places, a traffic in offices began. Whoever offered the largest bribes to the persons in power (the grand viziers and viziers) received the office. In proportion as the gain of individuals increased, the state was the loser. No positions were gained without enormous bribes. The Grand Vizier Rustem, who reigned during Selim's lifetime, actually fixed the annual gifts which the incumbents of high offices were obliged to make. Thus the different tributaries were obliged to send three, four, five, and even ten thousand ducats as a gift to the grand vizier, besides the regular tribute. The annual income of the usurious Grand Vizier Sokolli, under Murad III., amounted

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to about one million ducats. Of course, this obliged the governors and other officials to oppress their subordinates with outrageous and arbitrary taxes in order to raise these gifts for their superiors. This notorious system of unlawful and ruinous taxation completely demoralized the civil service and all classes of the people.

4. The enormous salaries paid by Soliman to the viziers and highest functionaries, in order to place his Majesty's nearest servants above all other officials, had a most disastrous effect upon the treasury. At the same time, the rapidlychanging grand viziers began in the most shameful manner to change the estates temporarily granted them into hereditary family possessions. The state treasury became emptied in consequence, and the crown domains diminished, until nothing was left.

5. The enormously-increasing extravagance of the court. To raise the sums necessary for these expenses, a means was resorted to as early as the fifteenth century, which, in all ages and among all nations, has provoked distrust, exasperation, and revolt: this was the shameful and continued debasement of the currency.

As Soliman I. greatly increased the power of the grand vizier, a few words in regard to this office may not be out of place. Primarily the sultan had four councillors, or viziers (meaning bearers of burdens). In time, the first among them was designated as Grand Vizier. Especially under Mohammed II. (1481) and Soliman I. (1566), his powers were enormously extended. Since, then, he became the mediator between the world and the sovereign, "the only and direct representative of the sovereign," - so says Soliman I. at the installation of his Grand Vizier Ibrahim, - "every thing he says is to be considered a command as if it came from my own lips: ... except for the army, every thing will be accepted and confirmed by my Majesty." Still more marked are the Grand Vizier Ibrahim's words to the Austrian ambassador: "I govern this great empire: whatever I do, that is done; for I possess all the power. . . . Even if the great emperor (the sultan) chooses to give, he will not be obeyed if I refuse." Later, the jurisdiction over the armies, and over life and death, reserved by Soliman I., was exercised by many grand viziers; but they were obliged to do every

thing in the sultan's name, whether he was informed of it or not. The more the sultans, especially Soliman I., withdrew from the outer world in order to increase the nimbus and exaltedness of royalty; the more seldom they appeared in the divan to preside in person; the larger the Ottoman Empire, and the more complex its diplomatic relations to other states became, --- the more important became the power of the vizier. In order to give full effect to the will of this sole mediator between the sovereign and his people and between foreign states, he was given a distinction which placed him high above the highest officials. He alone always carried the royal seal on a gold chain about his person. The right was conferred upon him to hold the sessions of the divan in his own palace, by which means the grand vizier's palace, with that of the sultan (the serai, serail, or seraglio), became the actual seat of government, the "Sublime Porte," In time, the divan assembled almost exclusively in the grand vizier's palace. At first, the sultans absented themselves to give greater weight to their appearance; but it quickly became the custom to permit their presence only when unusual matters were under consideration, until, finally, they were entirely excluded. The principal affairs were despatched in the grand vizier's palace, unimportant ones sometimes in the seraglio. The highest court and civil officers were obliged to pay homage to the grand vizier on certain days, according to the ceremonial prescribed for the sultan. The grand vizier alone had the privilege, he was even bidden, to appear at the mosque and at the seraglio, before his spiritual and temporal master, with a brilliant retinue. His income must exceed that of all other officials. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, it amounted to about twenty-five thousand ducats; but Soliman raised it to sixty thousand, to which were added incalculable perquisites, especially the large annual gifts of the tributary states. The splendor thrown around this office, particularly by Soliman I., was soon to be destroyed by contemptible favorites and friends of the harem. The sultans had created this office in order to be splendidly represented by it; but the grand viziers soon managed to reduce the sultans to little or nothing. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, therefore, the office of vizier was abolished by one of the more energetic sultans, Ahmed III.

The divan, or supreme council of the realm, of which the viziers and highest functionaries were members, at first met regularly on four days of the week (Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday). It met in the seraglio directly after morning prayers, and was in session till noon. If the sultan attended, he was escorted to and from the seraglio by the viziers, and sat upon a throne covered with cloth of gold. Later the divan met only twice a week, rarely in the seraglio, but mostly in the grand vizier's palace : under several sultans, as under Mustapha III., for instance, regular sessions of the divan ceased almost entirely; but, on extraordinary occasions, special sessions were called. In the earliest times they were public, and the crowd of plaintiffs and petitioners was enormous; but a numerous police force maintained order and quiet. Later, publicity was done away with. The sultans gave audiences to foreign ambassadors on Tuesdays, and then only in special cases, on which occasions no stranger was allowed to appear armed. Formerly, if a war was

contemplated, the sultans held a divan on horseback on the place where the hippodrome once stood. As far as known, the last divan on horseback was held in 1575, under Murad III.

#### SELIM II., 1566-1574.

Selim II. was a weak, stupid, good-natured, peaceable prince, very much given to intemperance: he left the administration entirely to the all-powerful and shamefully venal Grand Vizier Sokolli, — that shadow of Soliman I.

The subjugation of Arabia and Cyprus falls in his reign. In Arabia the western part of the peninsula alone is important, with its districts of Hejaz and Yemen, containing the holy cities.

Cyprus had an eventful history. First the Romans, then the Arabs, then Baldwin of Jerusalem, after them Richard Cœur de Lion, the Knights-Templar, the mameluke soldiers of Egypt, and finally the Venetians, acquired supremacy over the island. Having once belonged to Arabia and Egypt, and both countries becoming Turkish dominions, according to Turkish views of justice the island now belonged to them. It was occupied by the Venetians, who paid a tribute

of eight thousand ducats to Egypt for it. War was declared between Turkey and Venice (1570-73), which ended by the cession of Cyprus to Turkey. At the naval battle of Lepanto, 1571, the Venetians won a brilliant victory, but could not hold the island. The alliance formed by Pope Paul V. and Philip II. of Spain with Venice, in consequence of this loss, was fruitless, although it had no smaller end in view than the extermination of all infidels. On this occasion France again showed itself friendly to the Turks, and doubly so because about this time it desired to place a French prince, Henry of Valois, on the Polish throne; to do which the consent of the Porte was needed, it being impossible to establish harmony among the Christian powers.

In the peace of 1573, Venice was obliged to pay three hundred thousand ducats as a war indemnity; and the tribute paid for the island of Zante was raised from five hundred to fifteen hundred ducats. In this war (1573) the Spaniards reconquered Tunis; but it returned to the Turks in the following year, and the "three-headed corsair monster" (Algiers, Tunis, Tripolis) raged in the western Mediterranean with renewed fury. Even the expedition of the united Papal, Florentine, Spanish, and Maltese fleets, in 1602, proved unavailing, "because they found the entire coast under arms."

Algiers alone had from forty to fifty ships in active service, each with from forty to fifty cannon, and from two hundred to three hundred men. The extent and profit of this piracy can be estimated, when it is shown that France alone. during a period of twelve years, lost two thousand ships, with freight valued at forty-four million livres; Holland, in a period of thirteen months, a hundred and forty ships, representing a value of about three hundred tons of gold, &c. Algiers alone held ten thousand to twenty thousand slaves of all Christian nations. To be sure, the blame rested mostly upon the Christians and Christian states. A treaty, for instance, existed between France and Turkey (1604), permitting the former to harass the corsairs by every means in its power. France still coquetted with the pirate states in order to have what injury it could inflicted upon Spain. Between Holland and Algiers a special treaty existed to insure the persecution of Spain. The mutual envy and distrust of the Christian states did not allow an attempt at energetic measures in common.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, England, Holland, and France for once united against the corsair states. The English fleet under Black, the Dutch under Ruyter, and the French under Beaufort, soon swept the Mediterranean. Hardly was this accomplished with vigorous persistence and energy, when one after another of the powers concluded a peace with the corsairs (Holland in 1762, England in 1763, France in 1765), and the old mischief began once more. Had the pirates found no market for their booty. an incredible accumulation must have taken place in their seaports, and but little temptation have existed to continue their pursuit. But, in the numerous cities on the Italian coast, the corsairs found ever ready Christian go-betweens, who purchased the stolen Christian wares, and again traded them off, with great profit, to other Christians. The more the power of the Porte declined, under the supremacy of which the corsair states stood, the more reckless and unmanageable these robbers became. The Porte finally declined all responsibility for their depredations, and the Christian powers were obliged to negotiate with them directly.

As the Porte declined, its navy declined; and the empire was compelled to depend upon the corsair fleets. The relations between them were almost reversed : the Porte became, to a certain extent, dependent upon the corsairs. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Algiers chose a viceroy (dey) among its own chiefs, whose sovereignty was complete at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Dey of Tunis assumed almost complete independence as far back as the tenth century. At the end of the seventeenth century, when Turkey was engaged in its most serious conflict with Austria, and stood greatly in need of Barbary's assistance, these states were at war with each other (1695-1702), - first Algiers and Tripolis against Tunis, then Tunis and Tripolis against Algiers; and the Porte was powerless.

### MURAD III., 1575-1595.

Murad III. was of little weight in the administration of his reign. He spent his days in the harem with jesters and in similar pastime, had a talent for music, and was an inordinate opium-

eater. As Hungary had been the ancient apple of discord between Austria and the Porte, Poland was now the aim of Turkish, Russian, Swedish, and French politics. Poland and Turkey were thrown upon each other, in a measure, as natural Poland was compelled, by its fear of allies. Russia and the Crimean Tartars (under Turkish supremacy), to the utmost friendliness towards Turkey, which, for its part, was coerced into the closest possible relations with Poland for fear of a coalition of the latter with Austria: therefore, at the election of every new king, the sultans demanded the exclusion of Muscovite and Hapsburg princes as candidates. In order not to allow Poland to become formidable to Turkey, it was only necessary to encourage the internal religious and political agitations of Poland, and thus promote its defenceless weakness. After the house of the Jagallons became extinct, in 1572, by the death of Sigismund Augustus, Murad III. accomplished the election of the woiwod, Stephen Bathori, a Turkish tributary, to the Polish throne, after the brother of Charles IX. had occupied it for four months. When Bathory died, the Porte demanded openly of the Polish estates to elect a

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king of its own choice, Prince Ferdinand of Sweden, at that time tributary to the Porte. The last Polish kings were mere tools of the Turkish Government, and the influence of this country upon Poland was debasing to the last degree. The contempt felt for Poland was further shown by the undignified treatment of its ambassadors at Constantinople. In the relation of the Porte to Poland, its fear of Austria and Russia is clearly expressed. Sigismund nearly became involved in a war because he showed himself too complacent toward Austria. Finally, the perpetual border irruptions of the Polish Cossacks into Ottoman territory, and of the Crimean Tartars into Polish domain, threatened to disturb the existing relations between the two countries. Owing to the incursions of these border hordes, negotiations, treaties, skirmishes, battles, and renewals of peace, succeeded each other in endless alternation, a recapitulation of which would here be out of place. On the Turko-Austrian frontier, border feuds and invasions, and reciprocal complaints and protests on account of them, in spite of often-renewed treaties of peace, did not cease between Maximilian II. and Ru-

dolph II. on the part of Austria, and Selim II. and Murad III. on the part of Turkey. This necessitated the establishment of the so-called military frontier. After Matthias Corvinus and Ferdinand I. had made the beginning, it became the line of defence from Transylvania to Dalmatia, an extent of two hundred miles. It was better defined and secured under Maximilian II., and the Archduke Charles was created perpetual viceroy of the Croatian and Slavonic border-lands. These protective measures did not yet fulfil all expectations, because Austria everywhere lacked the necessary money for their completion. It is impossible here to state the frontier troubles that filled a space of twenty years. In 1593 the longexpected war finally broke out; but, as it occupies the reign of the succeeding sultan, it will be mentioned farther on.

The diplomatic relations with the Porte and the western states of Europe became extremely active: especially England courted favor with the Porte during its wars with Spain; while both France and England strove, by means of rich gifts and bribes, to obtain the most favorable commercial treaties, and both of these powers sought to injure each other through their respective representatives. Although friendly (a Turko-English alliance was secured in 1582), the Porte could not be induced to break its truce with Spain (1580), and take part in the war against Spain.

This peace policy of the Porte toward the European states was mainly owing to the lengthy and dangerous war with Russia in which it was involved. After the death of the old Shah Tamasp (1577), party strife again broke out, and Turkish territory was frequently violated. Partly to chastise, and partly tempted by the promises of the factions in need of help, and with a view of taking advantage of its distress, the war with Persia was begun, and continued with short interruptions from 1577 to 1590. The prizes of battles and victories were the fine large districts of Georgia and Aserbadshan (with Erivan and Tabris), and Kars became the frontier fastness towards the north. Peace and conquest remained undisturbed on the accession of Shah Abbas the Good, 1592, who seized the reins of government, and was acknowledged by the Porte.

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By this means the Ottoman Empire made

another addition to its domain, and, at the close of Murad's reign, possessed forty vice-royalties, -eight in Europe, twenty-eight in Asia, four in Africa; besides four tributaries, - Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Ragusa. Its vice-royalties were as follows, - in Europe, Turkish Hungary, Temesvar, Bosnia, Temendria, Roumalia, Kaffa, Candia, the Archipelago, and Morea; in Asia, Anatolia, Karaman, Adana, Maraash, Cyprus, Aleppo, Saida, Damascus, Tripoli (in Syria); on the Black Sea, Sivas (or Roum), Trebizond, Tshildir; toward Persia, Georgia, Caucasia, Shirwan, Kars, Wan, Erzeroum, Kurdistan, Bossra, Bagdad, Rakka, Mossul, Diar-Bekir; in Arabia, Egypt, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli. The Ottoman Empire extended from the Euphrates and Tigris to the frontiers of Friaul, from the skirts of the desert to the fastnesses of Komorn and Erlau. It comprised the countries most favored by Nature, and its fleets controlled the most frequented seas. To what power and eminence this empire might have risen, had it but followed the march of civilization, and adopted the forms of Occidental governments with their vitality and progressiveness!

#### MOHAMMED III., 1595-1603.

He was the last Ottoman prince who held a viceroyalty before his accession to the throne. After his time, the princes were all excluded from administrative positions, and kept in Constantinople. This made future sultans more and more unfit for the throne. The murder of nineteen princes was the first noteworthy act of this sultan. His mother, the harem, and twelve grand viziers, rapidly succeeding each other during his reign, conducted the administration without him in the most arbitrary manner. Debasement of the currency, and increase of taxation, led to rebellions in different parts of the realm.

A long war between Austria and the Porte had begun under his predecessor, and came to a close under his successor (1593–1603). Even before the declaration of war, a fierce battle was fought on the Kulpa in 1593.

The strongly-fortified Raab surrendered to the Turks in 1594. Gran and Wissegrad were taken, after a long siege, in 1595, and Erlau by the Turks in 1596; then Raab was recaptured by the Austrians in 1598. Waitza was vainly besieged

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by the Turks, and Buda by the imperialists. Peace negotiations in 1599 led to no result. In 1602 Stuhlweissenburg was taken by the Turks, and Buda was in the peculiar position of being besieged on one side by the imperialists, while, on the other, Turkey was besieging Pesth. Subsequently, peace negotiations dragged for several years as languidly as the war. Brilliant results were achieved by the Turks in 1605. Gran and Wissegrad were retaken by them, and the fortified town of Neuhäusel by their ally, the Woiwod Bosckay. Komorn alone could not be taken by the Turks. It was the north-western landmark of Ottoman power, as the precipices of the Caucasus were the north-eastern ones. In the same year, a destructive invasion was made into Styria, and Bosckay crowned King of Hungary by the grand vizier; that is, over a north-eastern portion of Hungary, which, up to that time, had been under Hapsburg sway. At last came the year 1606, with a double treaty of peace at Vienna and Sitwatorok. The history of the peace of Vienna is briefly as follows: At the beginning of the war, the tributary princes of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, united with

Austria to shake off the Turkish yoke. Previously, Moldavia and Wallachia had voluntarily surrendered again. After promising submission and help, Bosckay was made woiwod of Transylvania, and in 1665 also tributary king of part of Hungary. The Porte did not make this coronation in good faith; but, as the imperialists suffered great defeats during the year, this nominal King of Hungary served as a bugbear with which to compel greater concessions from Austria. Bosckay was aware of this; and, in order to secure Transylvania, he concluded the peace of Vienna with the Hapsburgs, -- first with Rudolf II., then with Matthias, - secretly resigning Hungary (with the exception of a few comitats), for which the Hapsburgs, on their part, recognized him as hereditary prince of Transylvania. In the subsequent peace of Sitwatorok, near Komorn (1606), between Turkey and Austria, the peace of Vienna, or rather this treaty of succession, was ratified by Turkey. At the same time, the tribute of thirty thousand ducats for Upper Hungary was rescinded for the Hapsburgs, and a single gift of two hundred thousand florins demanded instead. The frontier districts were more closely defined

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by both parties. This peace was to be valid for twenty years at least.

It could not last, however. The Turks were not sincere, being moved to these remarkable concessions only by the threatening war in which they were for the moment involved with Persia. Differences concerning the peace of Sitwatorok arose. Bosckay was soon after poisoned; and both Austria and Turkey wished to name his successor. This quarrel for Transylvania lasted nearly a century from that time, till it finally ceased at the peace of Carlowitz (1699), when Transylvania was ceded to Austria.

After the peace of Sitwatorok, the Hapsburgs were no longer tributary princes of the Porte; *after this peace, no more territory* was added to the Ottoman Empire: at this point the development of Ottoman power ceases, and its decline begins. This fact is significant in the history of Turkey. The constant re-corrections and interpretations of the peace documents were finally settled in 1616 by the Austrian envoy, Chevalier de Ezernin, who was the first Christian ambassador that made a public entry into Constantinople preceded by a banner bearing the cross, and with martial music.

#### AHMED I., 1603-1617.

Ahmed I. was fourteen years old when he ascended the throne, — a weak, incapable, and cruel ruler. Before his father's death, war with Persia had begun; and he entered upon his administration with two wars on his hands, — against Austria and Persia. The first was soon concluded by the peace of Sitwatorok (1606); the latter was continued.

The Persians could not forget the loss of Azerbaijan (1590); continual border troubles were occurring, till finally war broke out (1603-12). At the battle of Tabriz, Shah Abbas the Good suffered a severe defeat by the Turks. From 1606 to 1609 Turkey could not move vigorously against Persia, as its forces were needed to suppress a revolt that had spread through all Asia Minor and Syria. In 1610 and 1611 nothing of consequence was undertaken against Persia. At the peace of 1612, Persia retained its conquests. Thus Turkey was at a disadvantage with Persia as well as with Austria. Its defeat by the Persians, it should be remembered, was owing to *internal rebellion*.

Characteristic of the times is the end of Ahmed's seven sons: of three who came to the throne, two were murdered. The third was a dreadful tyrant. The other four "fell as the victims of their reigning brothers."

### MUSTAPHA I., NOVEMBER, 1617, TO FEBRU-ARY, 1618, AND 1622-1623.

This enervated and idiotic sultan, brother of the previous one, appears a perfect caricature on the Ottoman throne, which he obtained by enormous gifts to the janizaries (three million ducats the first time, a million and a half the second). He was twice deposed, 1618 and 1623, and then kept in confinement. Janizary mutinies, popular tumults, assassination, intrigue, executions, rapacity, and revenge, are the sad characteristics of his time. After his second deposal, he lived in his harem, where he died (of poison) in 1639.

He was succeeded by the three sons of his , brother, — Osman II., Murad IV., and Ibrahim I.

### OSMAN II., 1618-1622.

A lively diplomatic intercourse began with Vienna on his accession. While the Hungarian and Bohemian estates were incited by the Porte to revolt against Ferdinand II., to weaken the troublesome Hapsburgs, Ferdinand's envoys tried to prevent the support of the rebels. The Grand Vizier Ali—one of the most oppressive usurers known to Turkish history—was creating deep dissatisfaction among the people; while the avarice of the sultan irritated the janizaries. Rebellion broke out in various parts of the kingdom. Finally the sultan died a violent death. He was the first reigning sultan who was strangled.

#### MURAD IV., 1623-1640.

Murad IV. was a tyrant in the full acceptation of the term. "Thousands of heads rolled in the dust at his slightest frown." From 1632 to 1637 alone, he is said to have had twenty-five thousand persons strangled and beheaded; the slightest suspicion was fatal. The highest officials succeeded each other so rapidly, that all security ceased. An endless series of executions took place merely to confiscate the property of the victims to the empty state treasury. Murad was grossly addicted to intemperance. During his reign, rebellions that could not be suppressed

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occurred in nearly every part of his empire. It was no wonder that foreign wars were unsuccessfully and inefficiently conducted under these circumstances.

In his time a tedious war with Persia began (1603-39), which was doubly menacing, as the Porte had to subdue the Crimean Tartars on the Black Sea and in the Caucasus, besides the Druses in Syria, to whose continued revolts Cossack invasions were added. The peace of 1619 was disregarded by Shah Abbas the Good, who was only waiting for a favorable moment to reconquer his lost provinces, to which end the reigns of Mustapha I. and Osman II., rife with mal-administration and revolt, seemed most advantageous.

On the accession of Murad IV., the shah unconditionally demanded the restoration of Bagdad. The Persians took it by force in 1623; but the Turks recovered it in 1638, since which time it has remained in their possession. The struggle continued in Georgia with varying success : from 1620 the Turks, and from 1630 the Persians, had the upper hand. The peace of 1639 secured Bagdad to the Turks, and Erivan to the Persians.

In 1624 the Turks suffered a complete defeat by the Crimean Tartars. The sultan had deposed their khan because he asserted his independence, but the Tartars compelled his restoration by force of arms. About the same time, a piratical Cossack fleet infested the seaports of the Black Sea; the Porte was unable to check it by energetic measures.

The revolt of the Druses was even more menacing. The Druses derive their name from Mohammed-ben-Ismael Darazi, who first maintained the divinity of the Caliph Hakem Biamer-Allah. Their home was on the northern borders of the Caspian Sea, from which they migrated, in the last half of the seventeenth century, to the uplands of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, where their strange and mysterious religious system continued to develop.

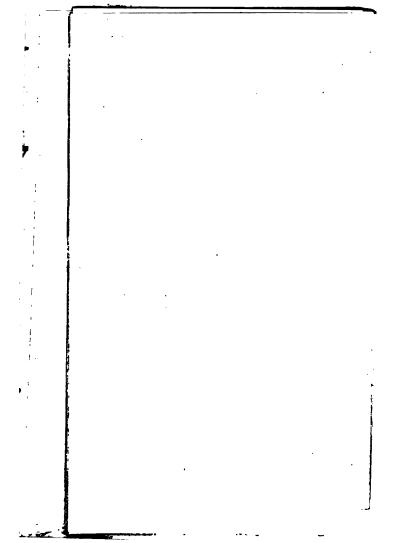
When Selim I. subdued Egypt, they placed themselves voluntarily under Turkish protection, but in such a way that they formed a sanshak (district jurisdiction) of their own; and their internal affairs were not interfered with. After dreadful conflicts among the chiefs of their tribes, two factions were gradually formed, both of which

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sought the protection of Turkey. Turkish influence was thus increased, but also Turkish exaction of tribute. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when nearly all the tribes, with surprising unanimity, recognized Fashreddin as their head, they extended their dominion north and south beyond Galilee and Tyre, which brought them into open conflict with the Porte. Turkish impotence under Mustapha I. and Osman II., and the Persian war against Murad IV., made Fashreddin bolder. Even Damascus and Antioch were attacked and plundered in 1626 and 1627. Turkey was here obliged to interfere energetically, at the risk of neglecting its war with Persia, to prevent other parts of the realm from following the example of the Druses. In 1632 a Turkish army and a Turkish fleet moved against them, and the Druses suffered serious defeats in 1633. Fashreddin was captured 1634, and executed in Constantinople 1635. A year after, the rebellion was completely subdued. The self-government of the Druses was abolished, and their territory placed under the viceroys of Damascus and Saida. The Druses were left doubly powerless,

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as they divided into different factions after Fashreddin's death, which left them nothing in common, except their hatred of the Turks. The disturbances among the Druses by no means ceased, and became quite serious at times, when western powers made anti-Turkish alliances with them, especially the Popes, in order, if possible, by converting them to Christianity, to gain a foothold in the Holy Land. The influence of France was exerted with the Druses to promote its Oriental policy and its commercial interests. But nevertheless the Druses remained completely dependent upon the Turks for more than three centuries, and have not come into prominent notice again until recent times.

#### IBRAHIM I., 1640-1648.

"A debauchee and libertine, under the capricious rule of women and favorites," — this indicates the whole character of his reign. A fortunate epoch truly, — Mustapha I. idiotic, Osman II. strangled, Murad IV. cruel to frenzy, Ibrahim I. in his harem completely enervated ! A brilliant constellation for promoting the happiness of nations ! The slipper, veil, and girdle moneys for

the ladies of the harem increased enormously; some among them drew the incomes of whole viceroyalties. Rebellions occurred in all parts of the empire. The most dangerous rebels were propitiated by investing them with the highest Splendid policy! The janizaries were offices. in revolt, and divided against each other; the principal reliance of the Porte, its army, began to give way. A war with Venice was begun (in 1645-69). The Turks wanted Candia, which belonged to the Venetians. The war was carried on without energy and determination, bearing witness to Turkish decline. After a Turkish fleet had been shabbily equipped, the Venetian squadron prevented its departure from the Dardanelles. The Turkish fleet was nearly destroyed between Chios and Naxos; and no victory was obtained over the Venetian fleet until the Turks were joined by the Tunisian and Tripolitan squadrons, when a victory was gained over the Venetians at the Dardanelles. In 1656-57 and 1661 the fleet was again vanquished at the Dardanelles, at Naxos and Milo. Peace negotiations were carried on as inefficiently as the war. The Turks did not succeed till 1651 in get-

ting possession of the city and castle of Candia, the siege of which began with the war. Candia fell to the Porte. The war cost Venice over one hundred and twenty million ducats, and the Porte one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers. This war occupies nearly the entire reign of Ibrahim's successor, Mohammed IV.; its beginning only dates to the time of Ibrahim, who was unable to cope with the Venetians. When favoritism and extravagance had reached their height, Ibraham's dethronement was decreed by a *fetwa*. "He was strangled amid curses," — the second reigning sultan who met with a similar fate.

#### MOHAMMED IV., 1648-1687.

Like the accessions of his predecessors, that of Mohammed was accompanied by seditions among the troops, and popular uprisings. The administration was conducted by his grandmother Mahpaiker. The mother of his father, Ibrahim I., and of Murad IV., Mahpaiker was soon opposed by the sultan's mother, Trahkan, and her party. This led to the most shocking intrigues and party broils, until finally old Mahpaiker was murdered. She is the most promi-

nent among Turkish women. Under four sultans, — her husband Ahmed I., Murad IV. and Ibrahim her sons, and Mohammed IV. her grandson, — she powerfully influenced and even controlled public affairs, and maintained her position at the head of the harem faction during the reign of six sultans. She is described as "a royal and generous woman, of high intelligence and noble heart, but of a violent temper." For thirty years, as wife, mother, and grandmother, she reigned with the sultans, the most vigorous and famous of all the *validas*, or mothers of sultans. Her ability is attested by the duration of her activity.

That the means she employed to gain her ends were not always praiseworthy was owing to the circumstances by which she was surrounded. Her charity is greatly praised. To be sure, she indulged it at the expense of the state, and her regular income was estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. The highest officials were rapidly and arbitrarily removed. One grand vizier was removed after holding office four hours, and a mufti after thirteen. The want of money and troops had never been so felt before. There was no longer any depend-

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ence upon the army, since the spahis and janizaries were involved in broils, and the janizaries among themselves. The Turkish provinces in Asia could not be subdued: it was, therefore, impossible to prosecute with any degree of vigor the war begun by the previous sultan. It was fortunate for the Ottoman Empire that an able grand vizier, the great Koprili, stood at the head of Ottoman affairs for fifteen years. No other grand vizier was ever so long in office before, — an honorable exception to all his predecessors and successors. He was an enemy to injustice and oppression, bribery and avarice ; he was dignified and modest, and generous to friend and foe, and the soul of the government.

The treaties of peace of Vasvar (Austria), Candia (Venice), and Zuravna with Poland, are *his* work. He can only be compared to the Grand Vizier Sokolli under Soliman the Magnificent. He endeavored to put an end to the mutinous condition of the army, and to the rebellions in the provinces, for which, under existing circumstances, he was occasionally obliged to resort to severe measures. Internal disaffections were often caused by theological and religious dissensions.

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The use of coffee and tobacco, which spread more and more, was violently opposed by the orthodox party, who also preached against the use of silk garments and others not prescribed for women, against the holy dances of the dervishes, and opposed the singing of hymns, and all deviations in the construction of mosques. In his time, serious difficulties arose on the northern frontier of the Ottoman realm. War had been declared between the woiwods of Wallachia and Moldavia, both Turkish tributaries. Cossacks and Crimean Tartars, likewise under the protectorate of Turkey, were engaged in constant hostilities against each other; and the corsairs of both disturbed the safety of the Black Sea. The Tartars also made constant irruptions into Russia.

In 1660 destructive battles were fought on the Volga, where Tartar territory borders on Russia, in which the Russians were badly worsted. Russian embassies remonstrated loudly in Constantinople, and demanded redress. Transylvania particularly was a source of trouble to the Porte. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the woiwod Bathori at that time aspired to all northern (Austrian) Hungary, — an aspiration the Turks did not check. After his assassination (1613), Bethlen Gabor was chosen, who strove to obtain the complete independence of Transylvania. This is not the place to relate the seditions of this ambitious and crafty prince. His policy was wholly equivocal; Janus-like, he turned one face toward Constantinople, and the other toward It was indifferent to him whether he Vienna. gained his end under the crescent or the cross. His double game was seen through by both courts; he was readily known as a time-server by all whom he approached. He succeeded in attracting more attention than ever to Transylvania, and having more importance attached to it than ever before. Both emperor and sultan thought seriously of its acquisition.

When Bethlen Gabor died, in 1629, the estates of Hungary chose George Ragotzki (1630), one of the highest and richest magnates, who also possessed large estates in Hungary, — a choice which did not please either Austria or the Porte, as he fully equalled Bethlen in ambitious desire for power. His conduct toward the Porte was not that of a tributary prince, and from Austria he tried to obtain an increase of territory in Hungary. After making war independently against Poland, he was deposed by the Porte. He resisted, and by so doing led to devastating incursions of the Tartars (at the instigation of Turkey) in Transylvania. The unhappy condition of that province continued up to Ragotzki's death, in 1660. The Porte now recognized Apaffy as woiwod of Transylvania, while Austria exerted itself to obtain the recognition of Kemeny. The Porte liked to use these princes to intimidate Austria.

Men like Bethlen and Ragotzki, who were striving for the possession of Hapsburg Hungary, were always agreeable to the Porte. They weakened Austria, and that was what the Porte desired. For the same reason, Austria felt it incumbent to have a devoted adherent as woiwod; besides, Austria had not surrendered its rights to Transylvania, and felt justified in urging its choice. The Porte emphatically declined Austria's interference in Transylvanian affairs; Austria persisted, and, when a series of negotiations failed, both Austria and the Porte resorted to war in 1663-64. The Turks took Neuhäusel, at that time Hungary's chief stronghold. The conquest of Neutra by the Turks followed in 1664, who were, in turn, defeated by the imperialists at Leventz. Both armies opposed each other for a long time on the Raab, till the battle of St. Gotthard was fought, Aug. 1, 1664, in which Montecuculli won a brilliant victory.

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Soon after the peace of Vasvar on the Raab was concluded (also known as the peace of St. Gotthard), in which, as often before, the peace of Sitwatorok was renewed, Apaffy was recognized as Turkish tributary of Transylvania; and the seven comitats Ragotzki had possessed in Hungary (between Transylvania and the Theiss) were divided between Turkey and Austria. Neutra was restored to Austria, and Neuhäusel belonged to the Turks. The condition of the frontier was nowhere so unsafe as between the Dniester and the Bog. The wide plain was entirely occupied by Cossacks, who, under their hetmans, had joined either Poland, Russia, or Turkey. They were hostile, and laid waste each other's territories. None of the three powers was able to check them, and maintain order. Sobieski's successful campaign (1671) against the Cossack Hetman Doroszenko, who recognized Turkish sovereignty, caused a war with Poland (1672-76).

After the Turks had taken Kamenetz, on the Dniester, the weak Polish king, Michael Caribert, concluded the disgraceful peace of Buzacs (1672), in which Poland ceded Podolia to the Turks, a large portion of the Ukraine to the Cossacks, and promised a yearly tribute of twenty thousand ducats, and an indemnity of two hundred and twenty thousand ducats. The gallant patriot Sobieski, who was chosen king after Caribert's death, did not consider himself bound by these shameful conditions. He continued the war under great difficulties, and won a brilliant victory at Kozmin, which disabled the Turkish army. In 1674 Kozmin and Ladizin were retaken by the Turks; but the whole Ukraine was freed from them, and the Turkish army before Lemberg defeated by Sobieski in 1675. At the peace of Zaravna (1676), Padolia remained to the Turks; also a part of the Ukraine was ceded to them. This part of the Ukraine soon revolted against Turkey, and recognized Russia, which led to a war between Russia and Turkey in 1678-81. The wild hordes of Cossacks and Tartars that occupied districts of uncertain limits and boundaries between Russia,

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Turkey, and Poland, had been a perfect scourge, by land and by sea, to the neighboring countries for centuries. Especially the Crimean Tartars under Turkey were an excellent check to the growing power of the Muscovites. To the remonstrances of the Russian envoys, the sultans feigned regret at these Tartar invasions, and promised to remedy them, while they secretly rejoiced, and encouraged the Tartar khans to continue them. These Tartar hostilities led to the first approaches between Russia and Turkey. Negotiations concerning them were begun in the fifteenth century between Moscow and Constantinople; but a coolness existed between both powers.

As no relief could be obtained from the sultan, the Russian grand dukes quietly permitted their hordes to overrun Turkish territory about the middle of the sixteenth century. This, and the construction of a canal between the Don and the Volga, begun by Soliman I., to connect the Black and Caspian Seas, and to facilitate communication with Persia, with which Turkey was always at war, increased the displeasure of the Russians. This project was as dangerous for the Russians as for the Tartars, who, though they recognized Ottoman supremacy, never allowed the Turks to gain a foothold in their territory. Their united resistance checked the Turkish enterprise, and roused the anger of the Porte. In spite of this, Turkey tried to establish a better understanding with Russia. Its envoys were treated with more distinction in Constantinople, and Tartar invasions in Russia were earnestly prohibited.

This was proof sufficient that the Porte began to *fear* Russia. The anxiety of Turkey lest its Christian tributaries would ultimately find an ally in Russia became quite evident in the sixteenth century, — an anxiety that time has fully justified, their common Slavic origin not being taken into consideration. For these reasons, the policy of Turkey was to weaken Russia; hence every acquisition of territory was unfavorably regarded by Turkey. On the part of Russia we are met by the peculiar phenomenon, that the Russian czars would never consent to alliances with other Christian powers, — neither Ivan IV. (1584), nor Feodor I. (1594), nor Boris (1605).

At the time that Turkey was engaged in its

war with Poland (1672-76), the Russians made an extensive irruption into Tartar territory. Soon after, war broke out between Russia and Turkey. The Czar Feodor Alexovitch (1682) was at that time on the Russian throne. The Turks took Kherson on the Dnieper, or more correctly on the Tasmin; but three-fourths of their army was sacrificed. It was settled at the peace of Radzyn, that neither Russians nor Turks should have a fortress between the Dnieper and the Bog, and Tartar irruptions into Russian territory were interdicted. From that time, Russian policy has encroached step by step on the Turkish frontier in Europe as well as in Asia. At first, its frontier extended toward Turkish domain; then it took one district after another, until its present boundary was reached.

Thus the Porte had carried on four long wars under Mohammed IV., one of twenty-four years against Venice, and others, of several years' duration, against Austria, Russia, and Poland. But the Ottoman Empire was not to enjoy peace: on the contrary, the hardest struggle was still to come, — a conflict with Austria, with which Poland and Venice had entered into a "holy alli-

ance," 1682 and 1683-98. Prince Tokoli of Transylvania was again the instigator, — the same one who offered eighty thousand ducats annual tribute; who, to win Austrian Hungary, played a servile part in the interest of Turkey against the emperor; "who kissed the dust of the Sublime Porte," and, Janus-like, negotiated for peace in Vienna, while he instigated Turkey, through his envoys at Constantinople, to prepare for war with Austria. In 1682 he published a pamphlet with one hundred remonstrances against the imperial government, and, with the assistance of Turkey, began the war.

As the Grand Vizier Mohammed crowned the Woiwod Bosckay King of Austrian Hungary on the plain of Rakos in 1605, so the Woiwod Tokoli was now crowned by the Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha on the plain of Esseck. An army of two hundred thousand men was assembled at Stuhlweissenburg to advance across the Raab and the Leytha, "Tokoli serving Kara Mustapha as guide and bloodhound in his marauding expedition to Vienna." From the 9th to the 14th of July, the army assembled before Vienna; and the fruitless siege began on the 14th of July. On

the 12th of September, the persecuted city was relieved by Sobieski's troops. Three hundred cannon and fifteen thousand tents were captured by the Christians; and Kara Mustapha's dream of making Vienna the capital of a second Turkish empire in Europe was forever dispelled. Vienna was free.

"It was the second time that the tide of Mohammedanism, which swept over lands and nations, was turned by the walls of Vienna, as a hundred and fifty-four years before, when Vienna was already the bulwark of Christian civilization and culture in the West against Oriental barbarism." While Kara Mustapha was being executed at Belgrade by order of the sultan, and the traitorous Tokoli was taken in chains to Constantinople, Sobieski, the Duke of Lorraine, the Margrave of Baden, and Prince, Eugène, began their victorious campaigns. In 1603 Gran was taken, and the Turks defeated at Parkany, opposite Gran. In 1684 a "holy alliance" was formed between Austria, Poland, and Venice, against the Porte ; and operations were now conducted at three points by the allied powers, - in Hungary by Austria, in Dalmatia and Morea by

Venice, and on the Dniester by Poland. Wissegrad, Waitzen, Neuhäusel, Fünfkirchen, Szegedin (the conquest of which was celebrated by all Western Christendom), were taken; and finally Buda, the Ottoman bulwark against the West, after being under Turkish sway for a hundred and forty-five years, and suffering six sieges, was taken Sept. 2, 1686, by the prowess of a Christian army, led by knights from every Christian realm.

Buda was the tenth city in rank in the Ottoman Empire. The three imperial cities, Constantinople, Adrianople, and Brusa; the three holy cities, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem; the capitals of Egypt and Syria, Cairo and Damascus; and Bagdad, the bulwark of the East, -alone took precedence. The Venetians captured Navarino, Nicopolis (Nauplia), Patras, Lepanto, Corinth, Athens, &c. Sobieski advanced across the Dniester to Jassy in 1686 without much result. The Porte continued its equipment for war in order to continue the campaign in 1687. In the same year, at the battle of Mohacs, they suffered a disgraceful defeat, where, one hundred and sixty-one years before, the king and the liberty of Hungary had been lost. Erlau was taken by the

imperialists in 1677; Belgrade in 1688 (but was recaptured by the Turks 1693); and at the same time Semendria, Stuhlweissenburg, and Zvornik. With these the principal border fortresses of the Ottoman Empire were once more in the hands of the Christians. Turkey had never known such distress. Dissatisfaction increased in all parts of the country. In consequence of these unsuccessful campaigns, mutinies occurred among the troops, and rebellions among the people; generals and viziers, who were held responsible for the late misfortune, were dismissed or executed; and Mohammed IV., the sultan, was dethroned in 1687.

Under these circumstances, while the Porte began negotiations for peace in 1688, the French ambassador at Constantinople urged the continuation of war. During these fruitless negotiations, the war was continued. The results of renewed efforts on the part of Turkey were repeated defeats of the imperialists in Servia and Transylvania; but the overwhelming victory won by the Landgrave Louis of Baden at Slankaman, not far from Belgrade, in 1691, broke the courage of the Porte. Negotiations for peace

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were again vainly attempted in 1691. The imperialists conquered Grosswardein (1691), Vilagos, Jenö, and Lippa; but the latter was soon retaken by the Turks (1695). Meanwhile the Venetians conquered many districts in Dalmatia, and many an island in the Archipelago, among them Chios, which returned to the Turks in 1695. This year, on the whole, was successful for the Turks. The new sultan, Mustapha II., was active and energetic.

The Tartars penetrated as far into Poland as Lemberg; the imperialists suffered heavy defeats at Lugos, on the Temes, and Sebes. The battle on the Bega, not far from Temesvar, in 1696, remained undecided, sanguinary as it was: but on the 11th of December, 1696, Prince Eugene won the great victory at Zenta, on the Theiss, in which thirty thousand Turks were slain, and which delivered the military chest, with nearly three million florins, and even the imperial Ottoman seal, into the hands of the conqueror.

After the terrible battle of Zenta, the principal Turkish encampment was transferred from Belgrade to Adrianople. Peace negotiations were resumed, which finally led to the Treaty of Car-

lowitz, Nov. 2, 1698, to Jan. 26, 1699, after a glorious struggle of sixteen years by the Germans and Christians generally. The peace of Carlowitz is of the highest historical importance. To the northward as far as Belgrade stood the Turkish army; southward, near Peterwardein, the imperialists; between both lay Carlowitz. After persistent negotiations on both sides, the following terms were finally agreed upon : —

Between Austria and Turkey: Transylvania falls to the emperor; the Banat remains Turkish; Slavonia will be divided by an artificial boundary (of pales and trenches) into two parts, of which the northern goes to Austria, the southern to Turkey; the Save and the Unna will form the boundaries; Tokoli is forever banished from imperial territory.

Between Venice and Turkey: Morea belongs to Venice; the possessions in the Archipelago will be distributed as before the war; Venice no longer pays tribute for Zante; the boundary between the two powers in Dalmatia will be defined by a series of frontier fortresses.

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Between Poland and Turkey, only a truce for two years was obtained; subsequently, in 1700, a

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treaty of peace, the negotiations of which were five years pending. The border difficulties between Russia and the Turkish Crimean Tartars were finally indisputably settled, and the insecurity and disturbances on the frontier ended. The Treaty of Carlowitz was the most important among all the treaties the Porte had yet made, and the most creditable one for the united Christian It was the first treaty at which the powers. Porte consented to accept the mediation of Christian powers (England and Holland), six Christian powers being parties to the treaty with the Porte. Russia declined all mediation; it negotiated directly with the Porte, and adhered to this principle in the future. The decline of the Ottoman Empire was an accepted fact.

The Treaty of Carlowitz was the first that did not stipulate the payment of some tribute to the Porte. This treaty at last defined the frontiers, which, until now, its policy of conquest would not acknowledge. After the peace of Carlowitz, the government of the Porte was more humane. It could no longer entirely withdraw from the influences of Western civilization, and no longer arbitrarily reject the demands of European cabinets. It was further compelled to ameliorate the condition of its Christian subjects. Previous to the Treaty of Carlowitz, the excellent Grand Vizier Koprili Mustapha had issued a new decree (Nisami Djedid) for the protection of the Christians (Giaours or Rajas), to relieve them from arbitrary or oppressive taxation, by substituting a poll-tax in proportion to their property of four, two, and one ducats annually. Directly after the Treaty of Carlowitz, the Christians of Servia and the Banat were relieved of their poll-tax for one year, and the Christians of European Turkey of the unpaid war tax of a million and a half. Clear-sighted Ottoman statesmen, like the Grand Vizier Koprili Mustapha and Koprili Husein, were well aware that the Christians must be more sensibly treated to prevent them from withdrawing from the power of the Porte as did the Christian powers of the West.

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This war was begun under Mohammed IV., and did not reach its conclusion until the reign of the third sultan who succeeded him. Mohammed IV. was deposed in 1687. He died of intemperance in 1692, and was succeeded by his brother.

#### SOLIMAN II., 1687-1691.

The empire was in great distress. Although the treasury was completely exhausted, the janizaries compelled the usual gift from the new sultan, and the execution of many obnoxious persons. The prop of the realm under this utterly intemperate sultan was the worthy Grand Vizier Koprili "the Virtuous," who deserves particular credit for the protective laws extended to the Christians in Turkey. He fell at the battle of Slankaman, in 1691.

#### AHMED II., 1691-1695.

Ahmed was the brother of his two predecessors. Like them, he was addicted to drink, and died in consequence. The affairs of the empire were, if possible, more confused than ever at his accession. Rapidly-changing grand viziers (ten followed each other in rapid succession during the reign of the two previous sultans) were all-powerful, the sultans being regarded as mere ciphers. Serious revolts took place in Arabia; lesser tumults and mutinies among the troops were the order of the day.

### MUSTAPHA II., 1695-1703.

He was the first sultan who censured his predecessors for the bad conduct of the war by proclamation, and strove to revive the courage of his troops by taking active part in the campaign. The debate in the divan, whether the sultan should be allowed to take the field or not, lasted three days. It was decided in the negative; but the sultan insisted upon going directly to the seat of war. Greater energy, more discipline and order, on the part of the Turks, and a series of defeats for the imperialists, were the result. The misfortunes of the campaign had made an impression. The army and navy were newly organized. The frontier fortresses of the empire, especially Belgrade, Temesvar, and Nissa, were put in better condition, and much care bestowed on the frontier generally, showing that it was considered permanent, and would be maintained. Taxation and the currency were revised, new taxes imposed, especially on coffee and tobacco, to cover the enormous expenditure of the war. A number of viceroys and high officials, who had been shamelessly corrupt in office, were executed to indicate the

sincerity of reform. The mufti issued a *fetwa* which demanded the diligent study of the Koran by all high dignitaries. The sultan was dethroned, notwithstanding his good intentions. The more rigid exercise of discipline excited the army to terrible revolt, which resulted in the dethronement and captivity of Mustapha II.

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## AHMED III., 1703-1730.

The brother of Mustapha II., he was placed on the throne by an army revolt in 1703, and lost it by the same means in 1730. Ahmed was a kindhearted man, who loved women, birds, mirrors, and lamps, arranged brilliant fêtes champêtres, and built numerous palaces, that were destroyed by the exasperated populace when he was deposed; he paid little attention to the affairs of government, and allowed his successive grand viziers to do as they pleased. Notwithstanding this, his reign may be counted among the better ones, for which his worthy Grand Vizier Ibrahim takes the credit; he conducted the internal administration and the foreign wars for twelve years under Ahmed, after being preceded by thirteen grand viziers in the course of fifteen years.

Four wars principally occupied the reign of Ahmed, — against Russia, Venice, Austria, and Persia, the four most powerful neighbors of the Porte.

Since 1709, Charles XII. had endeavored to induce the Porte to form an alliance against Russia. The Porte recognized King Stanislas Leszinsky, whom Charles had placed upon the Polish throne, but declined to declare war against Russia. Charles, however, began his campaign southward, doubtless with the intention of uniting with the kahn of the Crimean Tartars (Turkish tributaries), although the sultan had stringently prohibited such a measure. After his pitiful defeat at Pultowa, Charles withdrew across the Dnieper into Turkish territory in 1709, and Bender became his place of abode. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Turkish governor, Charles sent a Swedish corps of observation to Moldavia (a Turkish tributary), to the Russo-Polish frontier. It was pursued by Russian troops, and dispersed at Czernowitz, in Turkish territory. In spite of these differences, the treaty of peace with Russia was renewed, all hostilities against Russia forbidden to the Crimean Tartars, and Charles

requested to vacate Turkish territory. Charles accepted a gift of ten thousand ducats from the Porte, but remained in Bender, an unwelcome guest to the Turks.

After endless negotiations and violations of territory on the part of the Russians, after an anti-Russian grand vizier and Charles XII. had used every means to make war seem unavoidable, when the Tartars could scarcely be restrained, and the mufti had made war appear a legal necessity, the war party finally triumphed, and the sultan was unwillingly compelled to sanction the declaration of war against Russia. During this war with Russia (1710-13), the power of Russian money was made apparent. In the battle on the Pruth (1711) Peter was entirely defeated, the Tartars having cut off his retreat. A gift from Catherine to the grand vizier extricated him, and concluded the peace on the Pruth advantageously to Russia. Indignation at this disgraceful peace was intense; the grand vizier was dismissed, and war begun again. The new grand vizier was likewise bribed, and, with the peace of 1712, even the Ukraine beyond the Dniester ceded to the Russians. The grand vizier was again deposed, and the war renewed. Charles XII. would not quit Bender. He was besieged, and defended himself with three hundred Swedes against six thousand Turks and twenty thousand Tartars. He was captured, and taken to Castle Demürtash, near Adrianople. By the mediation of England and Holland, the peace of Adrianople was concluded in 1713 between the Porte and Russia. The frontier on the upper Dnieper and the Don was regulated. Charles XII. returned to Sweden with a brilliant retinue. Peace was renewed in 1720, and the czar's tribute to the Porte was abolished. Should circumstances demand it, Poland was to be occupied by Russian and Turkish troops.

At the outbreak of the war, the Montenegrins had been secretly supplied with money and arms to rise against the Turks, — an act that has been frequently repeated since. At the approach of the Turks, a great many rebels fled to Venetian territory, to Cattaro in Dalmatia. Venice refused to give them up. The Porte declared war against Venice (1714-18). Corinth, Ægina, Napoli di Romania, Navarino, &c., were taken by the Turks 1715. Venice and Austria now

renewed their ancient offensive and defensive alliance; and, under menace of war, Austria demanded indemnity for the injury done to Venice. After long deliberation and serious differences in the divan, war was declared against Austria in 1716. Eugène won a brilliant victory near Peterwardein on the 5th of August, 1716. Temesvar surrendered to him in October, 1716, after having been in possession of the Turks a hundred and sixty-five years.

The Banat was now in possession of the imperials, and the way to Wallachia open. On the 16th of August, 1717, Eugène won the glorious battle of Belgrade, which was followed by the capitulation of the ancient and important frontier castle on the following day. Besides an enormous supply of arms and equipments, fiftyone flags, nine horse-tails, and over a hundred and sixty guns, were the spoils of the victor. The war on land in Dalmatia, and by sea in the Archipelago, had been carried on with little effect against Venice. Although the mufti and the Ulema, the Woiwod Rakotz, and the French ambassador, clamored for war, the peace party triumphed after the fall of Belgrade; and the Treaty of Passarowitz was concluded July, 1718.

The peace congress lasted twenty days, although negotiations were already begun at the close of 1717. The whole Banat, with Temesvar, part of Wallachia and Servia, in Bosnia the domain between the Drina and Unna, and the important frontier fortresses Belgrade and Semendria, fell to Austria: it also claimed Widdin and Nissa, but desisted from this demand, as war with Spain was imminent. This peace secured a fixed boundary to the two states, which was mostly formed by rivers, - the Aluta, Danube, Timok, Little Morava, Drina, Save, and Unna. The most important frontier fortreses, and those most advantageous by nature, belonged to Austria. Turkey lost its secure frontiers more and more. In the peace with Venice, a number of capitulated frontier forts remained to the Venetians in Dalmatia; but the Peninsula of Morea, that ancient source of discord between Venice and Turkey, fell to the Porte; yet this did not balance the secure boundaries it had lost to Venice and Austria in Dalmatia. Bosnia, and on the Danube.

Shah Husein of Persia was dethroned in 1722. The country, as often before, was divided among different factions. Tamasp, the son of the

deposed shah, had made a protective treaty with Russia, in which the czar recognized him as rightful ruler of Persia, promising him assistance in case of need. Tamasp, in turn, ceded the whole southern shore of the Caspian Sea, or the districts of Gilan, Masenderan, and Assarabad. The districts of Derbend and Baku, on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, were already occupied by Turkey. Russia's supremacy of the Caspian Sea was thus secured.

Turkey felt itself aggrieved, and its possessions menaced in Asia, by these movements and the protective treaty; it demanded control of the Caspian Sea for its own safety. Thus it happened that in 1723 Russian troops marched across the Caucasus to those districts on the Caspian Sea, and a Turkish army entered Georgia at the same time. A new war with Russia seemed unavoidable. Mingrelia had belonged to Turkey for more than a hundred years. Tiflis was conquered by the Turks; and this conquest was celebrated by a grand illumination at Constantinople. An embassy from Persia, which came to request the recognition of Tamasp, was told that this could only take place under one condition, which was the cession of the district of Azerbaijan. Taking advantage of the disintegration of Persia, war was begun at once, sanctioned by a *fetwa* as a religious war against the heretics, or Shii. A treaty of partition was made by Russia and Turkey in 1724.

The two states seized north-western Persia. Russia obtained the province of Daghestan and a part of Shirvan (to the junction of the Araxes with the Kur); Turkey, the land south of the Kur to Ardebil (on the Caspian Sea), and from there in an almost direct line to Hamadan and Kirmanshan, comprising a part of Shirvan, Erivan, Azerbaijan, and a portion of Irak. In the same manner that Russia and Poland once took advantage of Persia's internal troubles to annex its territories, three European powers later availed themselves of Poland's weakness to make a similar annexation. This treaty of division was afterwards ratified by the Persian usurper Eshref, who was, in turn, recognized by both states as rightful ruler of Persia. Turkey, indeed, was compelled to engage in many wars under the succeeding ruler for the territory so annexed. It was clear that territorial extension of this kind

contained the germs of new wars, because Persia, as soon as it could unite sufficiently, would demand back the plunder. Russia was the greatest gainer by the districts of the Caucasus, and control of the Caspian Sea. This approached the Russian frontier to that of the Turks in western Asia, and gave rise to new differences between Russia and the Porte.

## MAHMOUD I., 1730-1754.

Mahmoud was a son of Mustapha II., and nephew of his deposed predecessor, Ahmed III. After the rebellious janizaries promised to spare his life, Ahmed III. agreed to abdicate. Half an hour after his abdication, he and his children did homage to the new sultan, his nephew; fifteen minutes later, he ascended the throne in the hall of the "Mantle of the Prophet."

This is sufficiently characteristic of the condition of Turkey. The rebels insisted upon their demands. They sent in a list of all those to be executed for purposes of confiscation, in order that their usual demands on the succession of a new sultan might be gratified. One of the rebel leaders even insisted that a butcher of Constanti-

nople, who let him have meat on credit, should be made woiwod of Moldavia. When the insolence of these janizary leaders reached its height, it became necessary to get rid of them by assassination, when quiet was finally restored.

A protracted war with Persia, and then with Russia and Persia, occupied the reign of Mahmoud I.

In 1728 the war with Persia had already begun. Internal revolts in connection with the new succession, mobs, mutinies, &c., prevented Turkey from energetic prosecution of the war. Meanwhile the territory annexed had been seized again by Turkey. It was impossible to proceed until the home disturbances were quelled in 1731. Kirmanshan and Hamadan were then reconquered by the Turks, and a complete victory won over the Persians at Koridshan (near Hamadan), 1731. But the treaty of 1732 restored Tabriz, Hamadan, and Kirmanshan to Persia. Soon after this war (1728-32), hostilities were renewed (1733-36). The national party in Persia, which was coming into power, demanded back all the territory annexed by Turkey in 1724. Near Duldsheilik on the Tigris the Persians, and near

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Kerkuk the Turks, suffered a total defeat (1733). The defeat of the Turks at Arpatshai in Georgia, 1735, by the army's chosen leader, Shah Nadir, who was subsequently obliged to recognize the Turks, was still more disastrous to them. At the peace of Moghan on the Kur (1736), the Porte was finally compelled to surrender all the lands it had annexed under the treaty of 1724. Thus Turkey derived no advantage whatever from these burdensome wars with Persia. It was finally compelled to conclude this shameful peace, because the long-expected war with Russia had meanwhile begun: Russia had already become so formidable to Turkey, that it needed all its strength to keep it at bay.

The new shah, Nadir, undertook great religious reforms: he had suppressed the Shiis, who were heretics in the eyes of the Ottomans, to whom they served as a pretext to give the character of religious wars to their invasions of Persia. Nadir now demanded equal rights in the holy cities, and freedom from taxation for all Persian pilgrims. The Porte refused, and war began. Mosul and Kars were vainly besieged by the Persians; but the Turks were defeated in the battle of Erivan,

1745. At the conclusion of peace at Kerden, near Teheran (1746), the old boundaries were generally maintained; but the Persians obtained equal rights to the holy places with the Ottomans. The death of Shah Nadir did not affect the conditions of this treaty. Three wars in rapid succession (1728-32, 1733-36, 1742-46) were the immediate consequence of the Russian treaty of partition in 1724.

The war with Russia (1736-39) had long been preceded by protracted frontier difficulties, and Russia's interference in Polish affairs (opposing the choice of Stanislas Leszinsky, made under the ægis of France), which excited the ire of the Porte. As the lower Kouban formed the boundary between Russians and Turks, so the lower Terek was considered as such between Persians and Russians. In the mountains on the upper Terek and Kouban, the boundary limits were not yet fixed. Border squabbles between the Russian Cossacks and the Turkish Tartars were an every-day offence. When, finally, the Russians occupied the whole territory of the lower Don, and concentrated large bodies of troops near Azov, an important point belonging to the Turks,

the Porte declared war (in 1736), the mufti's fetwa sanctioning the measure as a sacred duty. Austria and Russia being allies, a new war with Austria also resulted for Turkey. The Russians made two important conquests at the very outset of the war, - the Crimean Peninsula and Azov. The Turks responded by devastating the Russian Ukraine. The European cabinets were indefatigable in mediation: on the one part, the Germans, English, and Dutch; on the other, Swedish and French: even a congress at Wiemirov led to no result. The Russians took Otshakov in 1737; and the Austrians, Nissa. The whole of 1738 was wasted in battles and useless negotiations. In 1739 the Austrians were defeated at Krozka (Hissardshik below Belgrade), and Belgrade besieged by the Turks. The Russians, on their part, took Kozmin from the Turks, and occupied Moldavia. The peace at Belgrade was concluded in the same year. The Russians were compelled to demolish Azov, but were allowed to erect a fortress on the lower Kouban. The Circassians on the upper Kouban and Terek were declared free. The Russians did not insist on a Black-sea fleet, and restored Kozmin. Austria,

which had been unsuccessful in this war, lost Belgrade and Orsova to the Turks. The frontiers remained nearly intact. The reconquest of Belgrade was received with great rejoicings in the Ottoman Empire.

Besides these wars with Russia and Austria (1736-39), and the wars in Persia, that have already been mentioned, under the previous sultan, the Porte did not engage in further wars. During the reign of Mahmoud I. nearly every state in Europe was involved in wars, or entangled in treaties. Every attempt of the various ambassadors to persuade Turkey to take part in the different wars, or become a party to the various treaties, proved vain. Equally vain were the attempts of the distinguished Ottoman ambassador, Mustapha Effendi, in Vienna, to obtain a compromise (especially in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle). This, too, was the first attempt of the Porte to take part in the politics of the Western powers. The reign of Mahmoud was, beyond doubt, the most brilliant diplomatic period of the Porte. It sought to keep the peace; while its enemies, the infidels in the West (the Christians), and, after the murder of Shah Nadir, the heretics in the East (the

Shiis and other religious denominations), made desperate war upon each other. Peace was concluded with Austria, Russia, and Persia; treaties were made with France, Sweden, Naples, and Tuscany. Mahmoud I. had the satisfaction of surviving the three greatest and most powerful enemies of his empire, — Charles VI. of Austria, Anna of Russia, and Nadir of Persia.

# OSMAN III., 1754-1757.

He was the brother of the previous sultan, and a son of Mustapha II. After having been kept in retirement for half a century, he entered upon an entirely uneventful reign.

# MUSTAPHA III., 1757-1773.

Mustapha III., son of Ahmed III., was a kindhearted, well-meaning ruler. He preferred slaves as gifts, upon his taking the throne, in order to set them free; and he liberated many who were held for debt. He wandered through the streets, alone and in disguise, to detect crimes, and to punish injustice, especially to the poor. Sumptuary laws against the luxury of dress in women, and the extravagance in furs among men, were peculiar to him and to his predecessor. His reign was entirely peaceful. Peace compacts and treaties were renewed. A new treaty was made with Prussia, which guaranteed free navigation to Prussia in Turkish waters, and the jurisdiction of Prussian embassies and consulates over Prussian subjects in Turkish territory. This treaty gave Prussia a place among the great powers of Europe. Austria and Russia vainly offered one hundred thousand ducats to have it rescinded. The intention of the able Grand Vizier Raghib, the life of the administration, and promoter of this treaty, was, no doubt, to extend Ottoman territory at the expense of Austria, by an alliance with Prussia.

In Poland, factions opposed each other more bitterly than ever. The dissenters turned for help to Russia; the Catholic confederation of Bar, to the Porte. The influence of Russia placed Stanislas Poniatowski on the Polish throne: Russia marched ten thousand men into Poland to protect him. By this interference on the part of Russia, by the erection of Russian fortifications near the Turkish frontier, and the pursuit of Russian fugitives into Turkish territory, the weak-minded sultan, in spite of the dissuasion of the Ulema and of the foreign ambassadors, was at last persuaded to declare war in 1768, which ended so disastrously for the Porte.

At the beginning of 1768 the two chief divisions of the Russian army, under Gallizin and Ramanzov, extended from the Dnieper to Azov. Under agreement with the Caucasus tribes, a Russian army invaded the Caucasus; and a Russian army also marched against Poland, Turkey's ally. The Montenegrins were again supplied with money and arms by Russia, and incited to revolt against the Porte. The Turks suffered a severe defeat on the Dniester (1769). Kozmin was occupied by the Russians. The Boyars of Moldavia tendered its allegiance to Russia. In one of the campaigns (1770), the Russians won a decisive victory near Kagul on the Kagul, taking the Turkish fortresses Kilia, Ismail, Ibrail, Bender, and Akerman; and the Turkish fleet was destroyed in the bay of Tshesme, off the island of Chios. Demoralization and cowardice pervaded the Turkish troops. In vain the grand vizier and the generals were made responsible for these misfortunes, and executed. Meanwhile Frederic II. and Joseph II. repeatedly met at Neisse and Neustadt, in Moravia (1769 and 1770), to consult concerning their common mediation between the Porte and Russia. The Porte proposed the expulsion of the Russians from Poland, and a division of Poland between Russia and the Porte. The first proposal for the dismemberment of Poland actually emanated from the Porte, which was entirely overlooked at subsequent repeated divisions of Poland. A treaty of subsidies between Turkey and Austria was finally concluded, which inaugurated a singular web of intrigue, and an astonishing display of diplomatic skill: Turkey secured a war subsidy of eleven and a half million florins to Austria, the cession of Little Wallachia, and the greatest commercial advantages by land and by sea. Austria promised not to make peace, unless Russia returned all the conquered fortresses, and guaranteed the liberty of Poland. In a letter to the Porte, Catherine of Russia expressed herself ready for peace if the sultan would guarantee independence to Moldavia and Wallachia: simultaneously Russia proposed a united attack on Turkey to Austria in order to acquire Moldavia and Wallachia for Russia, and Bosnia and Dalmatia for Austria. At the same time, Prussia proposed to Austria that each of them should incorporate an equal part of Poland with their dominions.

The cabinets of St. Petersburg and Berlin were likewise negotiating concerning a division of Poland, in which Austria was to participate. Let this suffice. It would lead too far to relate all the diplomatic tricks performed on that During this time the Crimea was occasion. conquered by the Russians (1771), and its independence proclaimed. After that, the Crimean Tartars were forever withdrawn from Turkish sway, and the Porte deprived of its most potent weapon against Turkey. This loss entailed incalculable consequences to the Porte. About the middle of 1771, a truce was made; subsequent peace negotiations at Fokchani (1772) and Bucharest (1773) were slow and fruitless. War broke out anew. The fortresses Silistria and Varna were ineffectually besieged by Russia; but the year, on the whole, was unfavorable to Turkey. The Turks succumbed entirely in the battles of Basardshik and Koslidshar (1774).

The Porte then made overtures for a truce through the Prussian minister, Von Zegelin; and, without much difficulty, the Porte concluded the disgraceful peace of Kutshuk-Kainardshe. The Crimean Tartars, formerly under Turkish sovereignty, were declared free and independent, which immediately turned them over to Russia. Kertsh, Jeuikala, and Azov were ceded to Russia, and free navigation on the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora, besides other commercial privileges granted in Turkish waters. Ameliorations were insisted upon for Moldavia and Wallachia; and Turkey was, besides, obliged to guarantee the payment of four and a half million rubles indemnity. The presents which Catherine of Russia sent to all the generals, diplomates, and Russian ambassadors, who were concerned in the acquisition of the Crimea, were simply enormous. Since this peace, Russian influence at the Porte has been paramount. Indignation at this disgraceful settlement manifested itself seriously in Turkey. The ulema threatened rebellion; the national party insisted on the renewal and continuation of hostilities; but, powerless as it was, the government did not act.

Disturbances soon broke out in the Crimea. The independence demanded for it by Russia was to be merely a transfer to Russian sway. After various differences and disturbances with the Porte in 1783, the Crimea was finally occupied by Catherine II., to which the powerless Porte was obliged to give its consent in the year following, as most of the European powers sanctioned the course of Russia. The last Crimean Tartar khan, Shahin-Girai, was imprisoned by Russia. He fled to Turkey, and was banished to the island of Rhodes because of his Russian sympathies, and finally executed in 1787, when war with Russia was again imminent.

#### ABD-UL-HAMID I., 1774-1789.

Sultan Mustapha III. died in the midst of the war with Russia. He was succeeded by Abd-ul-Hamid, a son of Ahmed III., who had spent forty-three years in perfect retirement. Mustapha III., who was aware of his incapacity, desired to place his own son Selim (afterward Selim III.) upon the throne; but the divan, which was anxious for the weakest possible ruler, would not consent. In the pitiful reign of this sultan, the Porte made the disgraceful peace of Kutshuk-Kainardshe; army and finance became more hopelessly demoralized and confused; and the most serious disturbances occurred in the Ottoman Empire.

Sheik Tahir ruled as independent viceroy of Syria, and in 1770 proclaimed his independence of the Porte. The Druses rose once more in a terrible revolt; and the Porte was unable to subdue Syria until after the assassination of Tahir, in 1775. Pasha Ahmed Dshesar, who had suppressed this revolt, was made viceroy, and administered the government of Syria independently, and with extreme cruelty. His excellent defence of Syria against the French (St. Jean d'Acre) reinstated him in the favor of the Porte, and many of his arbitrary measures were overlooked. The sultan could not consider himself master of Syria until after Ahmed Dshesar's death, in 1804. In Egypt the mamelukes were divided into two parties, which made violent war upon each other, and devastated the land. A compromise between them in 1785 put an end to their party quarrels, but not to the oppression which they exercised over the country. The people demanded redress from the Porte. In 1786 the Porte with difficulty got the better of the mamelukes; but it was compelled to leave the country under the most powerful mameluke beys for a stipulated tribute. The Porte was obliged to proceed with great caution in the districts on the Persian frontier in order not to provoke frontier quarrels with Russia and Persia in the districts of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea. In this hostile attitude of Persia, there was danger that the Ottoman viceroys would join with Persia in revolt against the Porte, which subsequently often occurred. These provinces were difficult to reach on account of their great distance. The viceroys of Bagdad, for instance, ruled entirely according to their discretion. The Porte was compelled to look on in order not to tempt them to join Persia. The Turkish Government was also compelled to suppress widespread disaffections in Albania, as well as in Syria and Egypt.

A new war with Russia and Austria (1787 to 1791-92) was not spared the Porte. Its real cause was the refusal of the Porte to accede to all the demands of Russia. It was, besides, impossible to look calmly at Russia's encroachment in

the Caucasus. Russia was the more indifferent, as the good understanding of the Porte with Prussia had diminished. Austria was again allied with Russia. Joseph II. announced in a famous circular to all the European courts, that he felt himself called upon, as avenger of humanity and Christendom, to rid the world of a race of barbarians (meaning the Turks). The Porte succeeded in finding a temporary ally in Sweden, 1788-90. At the close of 1787, the Turks were defeated at Kiburn. In 1788 Kozmin was taken by the Austrians, and Otshakov by the Russians: the Turkish fleet was destroyed off Otshakov. Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid died (April, 1798) in the midst of the war. Under Sultan Selim III. equipments were carried on with more energy. All the reserves, from sixteen to sixty, were called out; but the Turks were defeated in the battles of Fokchani (between Braila and Bucharest) and Matiarasa (near Rimnik on the Rimnik). Akerman was taken by the Russians; Belgrade, Semendria, and Passarowitz capitulated in 1789. New Orsova was taken by the Austrians, Ismail by the Russians, 1790. Christian revolts took place in Albania and Greece in favor of Russia.

Through Austrian mediation the peace of Sistova (1791) was signed, and the peace of Jassy with Austria (1791), after the Russian army had won another victory at Matchin, on the lower Danube (1791), and the Turkish fleet had been captured in the Black Sea. Austria restored the conquered fortresses, and received Old Orsova to the czarina instead. At the peace of Jassy, the Dniester and the Kouban were made the boundaries between the Porte and Russia. Otshakov fell to Russia, and was granted free navigation on the Black Sea.

## SELIM III., 1789-1807.

Since the last unfortunate wars, the Porte withdrew almost entirely from foreign politics, when two events occurred that vitally affected the political organization of Turkey; 1. The partition of Poland; 2. The extinction of the republic of Venice. In the first instance, Poland felt alarmed and injured by the territorial extension of its enemies, Russia and Austria. As far as Poland itself was concerned, the Porte had no objections to its dismemberment; but it hoped that it might be entirely incorporated with Prussia, with which Turkey was on good terms, and in

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which it saw a powerful ally. It is noticeable under the circumstances that the Porte remained passive, and made no remonstrance.

. The peace of Campo Formio — that is, the annihilation of the republic of Venice - concerned the Ottoman Empire more nearly. 1. The extinction of a state to which Turkey had stood in direct and manifold relations for centuries vitally affected its interests. 2. The Porte vastly preferred the proximity of the declining republic to the insolence of rising France. Blow upon blow fell upon the realm, - its defeats and losses by Russia and Austria, the division of Poland without reference to Turkey, and now the cruel extinction of its decayed old neighbor on the frontier. The rage, therefore, of the entire Turkish population against France was boundless when it occupied the Ionian Islands, and at that time indicated its intentions in regard to Morea and Egypt. It is a fact that Napoleon then predicted the speedy extinction of the Porte, and occupied the Ionian Islands, principally to be on hand at the pending dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, in order to absorb a good portion of it. At this juncture, Russia at once declared to

France that the existence of the Porte was important, and that she would not suffer its dismemberment. (This does not accord well with the favorite idea of Catherine II., who proposed to revive the Greek Empire on the ruins of Turkey, under the sceptre of a Russian prince.) The results of this were advances to the hated Muscovites on the part of the Porte. England, too, whose commercial interests in the Mediterranean, and whose possessions in India, would be menaced by the French occupation of Egypt, renewed its relations with Russia and Turkey. The result was a *defensive alliance* between Russia and Turkey, which was joined by England in 1799, "to prevent the dangerous intentions of France in Egypt, and to destroy its trade in the Levant." The anger of Russia and Turkey against France can, above all, be explained by the republican aspirations of France, by which no one could be more exasperated and injured than the two despots of Europe, - the czar and the sultan.

When the Porte inquired the meaning, at Paris, of the preparations in the harbor of Toulon, &c., the Directory answered, that it intended merely

to punish the mameluke beys, who had injured French merchants. Talleyrand even had the insolence to assert that these equipments were directed against the Knights of Malta, whom France intended to destroy, which must be agreeable to the Turks, as the Knights had greatly injured the subjects of the Porte (the Barbary States). In September, 1798, the Porte declared war against France. In the battles of Chebries, and at the Pyramids, the mameluke beys, Murad and Ibrahim, were defeated; in the battle of Abukir (Aug. 1, 1798), the French fleet was destroyed by Nelson; from March till May, 1799, St. Jean d'Acre, so ably defended by the English commodore, Sir William Sidney Smith, was ineffectually besieged; but in July of 1799 the Turks were repulsed by Napoleon at Abukir. After Kleber (on Napoleon's return to France, August, 1799) had won a brilliant victory over the Turks at Heliopolis (March, 1800), he was murdered by a fanatical ulema. With him, the life of the French expedition to Egypt was gone. Although the French defeated the English (Turkish allies) once more at Canope, their position in Egypt was desperate. The French troops were transported

home in English vessels; and in 1802 the peace of Amiens was concluded between England, Turkey, and France. Egypt remained under Turkish supremacy as before; the seven Ionian Islands kept their republican constitution, but returned to Turkish sovereignty; France obtained free trade in the Black Sea.

The attitude of England towards the Porte, after the peace of Amiens, was equivocal. It showed itself favorable to the mameluke troops, and did not withdraw from Egypt until 1803. It was hardly gone, when the mamelukes began open hostilities against the Turkish pasha in Cairo. It was at this period that the dynasty of the present viceroy of Egypt ascended the throne. Mehemet-Ali, from the little Macedonian seaport town of Kavala, was one of the prominent leaders of Turkish troops who was sent to Egypt in 1798. After the departure of the English in 1803, he joined the rebellious mamelukes. When the measures of the Porte against them became more and more energetic, and the exasperation of the people increased, he sought popular favor by turning against the mamelukes, and playing the part of deliverer from mameluke tyranny.

He was made governor by a firman of the sultan in 1805, and, in consequence of his untiring exertions, created viceroy of Egypt in 1806. This he accomplished by intrigue and time-serving. He made himself more and more independent of the Porte, and repulsed an attack of the English in 1807, which raised him in the estimation of the Porte. He was always on the best terms with France, and strove to introduce the forms of European government in Egypt, which gave rise to the revolting combination of Western civilization and Oriental tyranny that stamps Egypt to this day. Oppressive taxation increased. The products of the country had to be sold to the viceroy at the lowest conceivable prices; he alone monopolized the lucrative cotton trade. After subduing Nubia and Kordofan, he carried on a disgraceful slave-trade. His army and navy were equipped on the French system. As soon as he considered them powerful enough, he refused the stipulated tribute to the sultan, and even undertook a war against Syria to bring it under his rule.

Turkey was obliged to go to war with Mehemet-Ali (1839-41). France secretly supported Egypt, and England the sultan, in order to weaken the influence of France. In 1841 the Porte was finally obliged to surrender the viceroyalty of Egypt to the family of Mehemet-Ali as hereditary domain. Rarely has an adventurer's game of chance been crowned with such success as that of this clever tyrant.

The peace of Jassy secured the independence of the Caucasian tribes. Russia's intentions in regard to them had long been manifest. The Prince of Tiflis (Georgia) had made a treaty with Catherine II., in which Russia guaranteed his independence, provided he would never recognize other supremacy.

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Since 1794 a series of battles had been fought between Russia and Persia. While Persia was divided by party conflicts, Alexander I. took possession of Georgia in 1801. However indignant the Porte was at Russia's encroachment south of the Caucasus, and its dangerous proximity there, it was unable to resist European complications; and the war in Egypt required all its attention.

Revolts of the Arabs, especially the tribe of the Vahabis, and the Albanese under Pasha Ali of Jaina, who was secretly supported by Russia, could only be imperfectly suppressed by the paralyzed Ottoman government. Added to this, Servia revolted more violently than ever. Janizary rule existed there in its worst form. To secure Constantinople from their riots, they were removed farther and farther from the capital, especially to the remote fortresses Belgrade, Bagdad, &c., which served to debase these hordes still more.

The republican ideas of France rapidly inflamed the oppressed Servians on the one hand; while, on the other, they suffered from the insolent brutality and increasing religious fanaticism of the Turkish pashas and janizaries. This resulted in a general uprising of the Servians (1804) under George Petrovitsh (Turkish, George Kara, generally called Kara Georgévitsh). Through Russian influence they were aided by the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, Murusi and Ypsilanti. The rebellion spread more and more; in 1806 the Servians won a victory over the Turks at Shabatz. Russian troops were being concentrated on the frontier. Turkey proved extremely yielding under the circumstances. The Servians were to choose their own form of government, occupy the forts,

and only pay a yearly tribute of eighteen hundred purses (something over fifty thousand thalers) to the sultan; but soon the Porte rescinded this treaty. The revolt began again at once. In 1806 the Servians even conquered Belgrade, and in 1807 Usicza surrendered. Milo Obernovitsh particularly distinguished himself during these movements. The Servians had already chosen a senate as legislative power, and added a skupshtina. or house of representatives, as advisory body. This uprising of the Servians was considered by the Western powers as the beginning of a general emancipation of the Christian nations under Turkish rule. Herein lies its historical significance. Meanwhile a new war broke out with Russia (1806-12). In 1805 the sultan deposed Murusi and Ypsilanti, the hospodars of Moldavia and Russia, who were friendly to the Porte. Russian troops at once occupied the two principalities. This was mainly done to balance the influence of France at the Porte. Owing to this occupation, war was declared against Russia, under the pressure of French influence; for the ill feeling between France and Russia was now at its height: besides, the Mohammedan population clamored for this

war, and the mufti urged it by a *fetwa*, which gave it a religious character. After the beginning of 1807, England also took part in this war as the ally of Russia, and from antipathy to France, which stood by the Porte. The English fleet soon appeared before Constantinople, which had been fortified at the suggestion of the English ambassador.

As already remarked, the English attack upon Egypt (1807) was a complete failure. Meanwhile an entire change was taking place. In Turkey there was growing indignation against France, produced by the dictatorial bearing of the French ambassador, and by the reforms in the Turkish army (after the French model), as in Egypt. The selfish conduct of England offended Alexander I. more and more, which led to advances to Napoleon, England's arch-enemy. During the peace of Tilsit (1807) the two monarchs met personally, and the partition of the Ottoman Empire between France and Russia was discussed, but without result, as neither party sanctioned the demands of the other. But certain it is that Alexander I. was more than ever inspired by the ideas of Peter I. and Catherine II. to

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reconstruct the ancient Greek Empire under a Russian prince, and to wipe the Turks from Europe. At Erfurt (1808) the matter was once more discussed between Alexander and Napoleon, and again without result. The disagreement between Russia and England led to the peace of the Dardanelles between England and the Porte, while the conflict between Russia and the Porte increased in violence. The greatest event was the conquest of Silistria by the Russians (1810), and the capitulation of Rustshuk. Meanwhile the ominous peace between France and Austria (1809) made Russia yielding; and the progress of Russian arms, especially the defeat of the Turks at Giurgevo (1811), inclined the Porte to peace. After interminable negotiations in Bucharest, and in consequence of the warlike preparations of France, Russian demands were moderated, and made acceptable to the Porte. At last the peace of Bucharest was concluded, May, 1812, which determined the Pruth as a boundary between Russia and the Porte, and secured free trade to both countries on the lower Danube. Self-government was assured to Servia, and but a moderate tribute imposed by the Porte.

The deposal of Selim III. occurred in the midst of the war. His practical innovations in the army and the state provoked the fanaticism of the Mohammedan population, and caused revolts of the janizaries. Especially the first recruiting of the troops in the Ottoman Empire according to the Prussian system (1805) created a terrible ferment among the entire population, and made this enlightened sultan generally obnoxious. The janizaries, and the ulema who controlled the mob, did not rest until Selim III. was deposed (1807), and strangled in 1808.

#### MUSTAPHA IV., 1807-1808.

The dethronement of Mustapha, a son of Abdul-Hamid, was induced by the same cause a year later.

Selim III. and Mustapha IV. died as martyrs to sensible reforms in the army and the state. Both were strangled in quick succession in the same prison.

#### MAHMOUD II., 1808-1839,

entered upon his government after the assassination of two successive sultans. Mahmoud was a man of great gifts and excellent character. He was obliged at first to desist from all attempts at reform. Terrible insurrections had once more compelled the old order of things.

The war with Russia (1806–12) has already been mentioned. The Congress of Vienna (Sept. 14– June 15), which re-organized the political status of Europe, also led to various changes for the Porte, among which the following may be considered the most important : —

During this reign, Turkey suffered a great loss by the insurrection of Greece. The circumstances, being well known, may be briefly summed up. The desire for independence in Greece had been partly suggested by the events of the times, and more than ever encouraged by Russia. Capo d'Istria was and remained the chief promoter of this movement. He had been Russian plenipotentiary to the Congress of Vienna. Though obliged as Russian minister to avoid all appearance of Russian sympathy with anti-Turkish movements among Greeks and non-Greeks, he was, nevertheless, able to accomplish a great deal through mediators by means of his very influential position. Thus Alexander Ypsilanti, a bitter enemy of the Turks, son of the Moldavian hospodar who was executed by them in 1805, was made president of the Greek association (Philhellenes) in 1820. Alexander first conducted an uprising in his native province, Moldavia, from the Russian frontier; which was followed immediately by the revolt of the Greeks under his brother, Nicholas Ypsilanti (1821). The reprehensible ban under which Metternich held the home subjects and many foreign princes prevented Alexander I. from directly supporting the Moldavian Greeks. Russia's attitude, the defeat of the Greeks at Dragatshaw (1821), and the subjection of the viceroy, Ali of Janina (Albania), who rose against the Porte in 1822, led to the discouragement of the rebels.

The severity of the Porte towards suspected Greek-Catholic Christians, the numerous arrests and executions among the high clergy, the banishment of influential and wealthy Christian families, and the accumulated horrors of Mohammedan fanaticism, not only roused general resistance and courage among the Turkish Christians once more, but increased the wrath against the Turks, and excited general sympathy for the rebellious Christians among the Christian popula-

tion of the West. The hope of the entire expulsion of the Turks from Europe again filled all minds. The first draft of a new constitution was made by the Greek National Assembly at Piadha in 1822. The Turks could not suppress the rebellion until they received assistance from Egypt (1824). For the promise of Crete and Morea, the notorious viceroy, Mehemet-Ali, sent his son Ibrahim with an army and a fleet. The cruelty of the Turks was then eclipsed by the bestiality of the Egyptians; and, from Tripolizza, Ibrahim actually carried on the devastation of Greece systematically. When the Greek stronghold of Missolonghi surrendered (at the close of 1825), three fleets — English, French, and Russian -- sailed for the Mediterranean for the purpose of preventing battles between the hostile parties, but themselves entirely destroyed the Turkish-Egyptian fleet at the battle of Navarino in 1827. Greece then elected its own president (Capo d'Istria). At the beginning of 1828, Russia declared war against Turkey. The Egyptian king had withdrawn (1828), and Turkey once more opposed Russia and the rebels alone. The Russians did not meet with much success, which led to the

peace of Adrianople in 1829 between Turkey and Russia. The Porte paid an indemnity of ten million ducats, ceded some districts in the Caucasus, and bound itself to demolish its forts on the Russian frontier, and promised its adherence, in advance, to any decision the powers might make in regard to the future organization of Greece. The London protocol of 1830 declared the *independence of Greece*, and defined the limits between it and Turkey (in general, from the Bay of Arta to the mouth of the Aspropotamo).

Almost immediately upon the withdrawal of Greece followed the war of Algiers. The influence of the sultan upon this state was insignificant; it was still nominally under Turkish supremacy. Although the varying conflicts between France and Abd-el-Kader continued to 1847, the French already occupied a large part of the territory; and Abd-el-Kader had recognized the supremacy of France at the peace on the Tafna, 1837.

These new misfortunes and losses had not only confirmed the sultan in his resolve to carry out the thorough reforms contemplated in the state and the army at the beginning of his reign, but also forced their necessity upon the more educated classes among the Turks. In the year 1826 Mahmoud II. began by removing the greatest evil in the state, and its most brutal opponent, the janizaries. More than fifteen thousand of them perished in a terrible massacre.

The Turkish Empire had long suffered from the terrible revolts organized by the ulema, the ancient allies of the janizaries; and would have continued to do so, had not the wars against Greece and Russia occupied all its resources abroad. Directly after the war, the sultan made preliminaries for the draft of a new state organization; and the year 1837 may be designated as the one in which the "new law" was put in force. These reforms concerned every department of the administration and the army system. Only the ancient status of the ulema remained unchanged, in order not to arouse popular feeling by reforms in religious and church matters. All offices were divided into five groups : —

1. Scientific, judges, and teachers.

2. Offices of the pen or the Porte, grand vizier, ministerial, exchequer, and government offices proper.

3. Military, army and navy.

4. Court offices and interior offices (seraglio, harem).

5. Viceroyalties.

The army was divided under the following heads, — infantry, cavalry, miners, bombardiers, and pioneers. After the regular army came the militia (redifs). The greatest changes took place in the court offices, which were very much diminished. It would lead too far to expatiate upon the different offices and their changes; but Mahmoud II. has earned honorable mention of his country by his energetic reforms.

#### ABD-UL-MEDJID, 1839-1861.

He continued the reforms of his predecessor in the beginning of his reign, but too soon yielded to the pleasures of his harem. The resentment of the orthodox Turks was more and more directed toward the Christians, among whom these innovations originated. The government was powerless to protect the Christians everywhere against attacks and ill treatment by the mob. The complaints of the Christians to Russia became louder and louder. The Emperor Nicholas gave in-

creased attention to these developments. The favorite idea of Peter I. and Catherine II., for Russia to absorb all the Christian provinces of Turkey, indeed to drive the Turks from Europe altogether, continued to occupy him. The partition of Turkey was secretly discussed with England, which was to receive Candia and Egypt. After the Greek Christians in Turkey had long found a support in Russia, Nicholas openly demanded the protectorate over all the Christians in Turkey. A demand of this kind was doubly out of the question, as the whole constitution of Turkey is based upon inseparable relations between temporal and spiritual power. On the strength of Russian influence, Montenegro opened hostilities in 1852 by violations of Turkish territory. To the displeasure of Russia, Austria quickly offered its mediation, which checked Russia's further interference.

In March of 1853, Russia definitely demanded the protectorate of all Greek Christians in Turkey. While an Anglo-French fleet appeared at the entrance of the Dardanelles to repel Russia, an army of eighty thousand Russians occupied Moldavia and Wallachia to give force to these

demands. When the Emperor Nicholas met the Emperor of Austria at Olmütz, and the King of Prussia at Berlin, and received an assurance of neutrality from both sovereigns, an alliance was made by France and England with Turkey, in case Russia should reject mediation, and refuse to vacate the principalities. That the oppression of the Christians in Turkey was not of the kind represented by Russia was made evident by the conduct of the Christians themselves. The Christian hospodars of the Christian tributaries. Wallachia and Moldavia, fled to Austria on the approach of the Russians; Servians, Bulgarians, and Bosnians, upon whose insurrection Russia had counted, remained quiet; while the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Armenians, thanked the sultan when his firman newly guaranteed the Christians their rights. Even among the Turkish population, an unusual patriotism<sup>¶</sup> awoke; increased taxes were paid; men hastened to enlist; even Egypt and Tunis furnished troops. As Russia rejected all attempts at mediation, the Porte finally declared war in October, 1853.

This was the beginning of the so-called Crimean war (1853-56). In March, 1854, England

and France declared war against Russia. In 1854 Austria joined the alliance without appearing at the seat of war. In January, 1855, Sardinia joined the allies. The Turkish fleet was surprised by the Russians in the harbor of Sinope; Odessa was bombarded by the Anglo-French fleet, and Silistria vainly besieged by the Russians. In September, the scene of war was transferred to the Crimea. The Russians were defeated on the Alma and at Inkerman (1854); impregnable Sebastopol was besieged by the allies in 1854-55, till it surrendered on the 18th of September, 1855. The Russians had suffered terrible defeats, but saved their military honor by the conquest of the Turkish fortress, Kars, in November, 1855. In the mean time, Nicholas died of grief at the misfortunes of this campaign (1855). His great successor, Alexanander Kwas inclined to peace, which was con-**H**. cluded at the Congress of Paris, 1856. Russia was obliged to cede a portion of Bessarabia to Wallachia and Moldavia. These two principalities were bound to recognize the supremacy of the sultan for the future, but were placed under the general protection of the great Western

powers; the Christians in the Ottoman Empire were guaranteed equal rights with the Mohammedans; navigation on the Black Sea and the lower Danube was made generally free, &c. Unfortunately, the internal peace of Turkey was variously disturbed during the reign of Abd-ul-Medjid; and want of energy on the part of the government became more and more manifest.

In spite of the sultan's resistance, the principalities Moldavia and Wallachia consolidated as one province, under the name of Roumania, and chose as ruler the notorious Alexander Cusa. He was deposed in 1866, and the present reigning prince, Charles (of Hohenzollern), chosen as ruler. Servia, notwithstanding all opposition, organized an armed national militia, for no other purpose than to support a general revolt of the Christians in the Turkish Empire. It overthrew the princely dynasty Kara Georgévitch, and placed the Obrenovitch dynasty on the throne. When Michael Obrenovitch was assassinated in 1868, the Skuptchina chose Milan Obrenovitch, who is still reigning. Hostilities on the part of Montenegro continued even after

the assassination of Prince Danilo (a devoted adherent of Russia), and after the present prince, Nicholas, had taken his place at their head.

A violent persecution of the Christians broke out in Syria in 1860, which led to an armed intervention of France, that would have ended by a permanent occupation, had not England, jealous of territorial extension on the part of France, declared against it.

#### · ABD-UL-AZIZ, 1861-1876.

At first he endeavored to continue the reforms begun by his predecessor and brother; but he soon relapsed into the old routine. A general insurrection of the Greeks in Candia (1866) and other islands of the Archipelago was followed by a long and extremely cruel war of suppression on the part of the Turks. The various *sheris*, or religious laws, which secured the equality of the Christians with the Mohammedans, existed on paper, but were not in force. Different causes led to disturbances, and then to open revolt (since 1875), in Herzegovina, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and finally involved the Porte in a war with Mon-

tenegro and Servia (1876-77). The causes partly lie in oppressive taxation, partly in the arbitrary brutality of Turkey toward these provinces, and partly, also, in the panslavistic tendencies of the age. The loose, blundering, and cruel conduct of the war on both sides — the inhuman bestiality of the one party, and bestial inhumanity of the other, the principal events and heroic deeds of the campaign of 1876, in fact — can be safely passed over, as generally well known.

In the midst of the confusion of war, Abd-ul-Aziz was dethroned on the 30th of May, 1876. A few days later, he is said to have died of a cut inflicted with a pair of scissors !

#### MURAD V., 1876.

Idiocy and frenzy appeared so violently in his legitimate successor, that concealment was not possible, and made the recognition of the next legitimate heir imperative.

#### ABD-UL-HAMID II., 1876-.

On his advent to the government, a little more energy was infused into Turkish warfare. Hardly had a few advantages been gained, when, at the

request of Servia, and by the mediation of European cabinets, a truce was obtained. The exhaustion and impracticability of a winter campaign found all parties prepared to sign, and subsequently to prolong it. In the mean time, Russia's continued preparations, and its increasing urgency for the definite and permanent security of the Christian provinces under Turkish rule, gave rise to an increasing coolness between it and the Porte. The attempts at compromise and mediation by the congress assembled in Constantinople at the close of 1876 were an elaborate failure. In the mean time, peace between Servia and the Porte has been concluded, and Servia has resumed its old relations to Turkey. Negotiations for peace are pending with Montenegro. War between Russia and Turkey is inevitable. Turkey has drafted a "new constitution" on paper for future use, and promises (un) doubted government reforms. We have nothing to add but a?

# INDEX OF TERMS.

Aga. A leader, or general. The highest was always the janizary aga. Formerly there were four agas of the stirrup, of whom one bore the holy banner in battle.

Beg. See p. 19.

Bey, or dey. The title of the hereditary tributary prince (viceroy) of Tunis.

Caliph, or successor. The title which the Sultan bears as successor to the Prophet, and as spiritual head of all Sunnite Mohammedans, whether they are his subjects or not. By the conquest of Egypt and Arabia by Selim III. (1517), the caliphate was transferred to the Ottoman sultans, which made them protectors of the holy cities, and, consequently, successors of the Prophet. And it is, besides, the standing title of the Viceroy of Bagdad.

Chan, or khan. Title of the absolute princes of the Mohammedan Turkomans in Asia.

Chodsha. Teacher and governor of the heir to the Turkish throne, who remains the Sultan's counsellor, and is generally held in high honor.

Dari Seadet. House of happiness, harem. Defterdar. Treasurer, minister of finance.

See p. 74. Divan.

Evalet. Vicerovalty. Turkey, at present, has twentynine evalets, ten of which are in Europe, sixteen in Asia, three in Africa. Comp. p. 19.

Emir. Lord, prince, ruler. The title of all Mohammedan princes; for instance, Emir-ul-Mumenin, meaning absolute ruler of the faithful. Title of the Emperor of Morocco.

Firman, or ferman. Every imperial decree of the Sultan issued under sanction of the divan, which becomes unconditionally valid.

Fetwa. See p. 44, &c.

Janizaries. See p. 18, &c.

*Imam.* Really the faith, the faithful. Every clergyman is an imam, especially those who lead the prayers at the mosques. Imam is also the title of the Sultan, as ruler of all the faithful.

Kadi, or cadi. Judge, especially the petty or lower judges for small offences. The higher judges are called *mollas*.

Kadiasker. Upper district judge. The highest are the Kadiaskers of Anatolia and Rumilia.

Kanun (kanon). Collection of laws of the realm. Kanundishi. "Keeper of the originals," keeper of the archives.

Kapudan (pasha). Lord of the sea; that is, the fleet. Admiral.

*Kara.* Really signifies "black." As dark hair and skin were considered very beautiful, the word has gradually become a distinguishing surname.

Kiaga (beg). Minister of the interior.

Medreses. Schools connected with mosques.

*Molla*. Judge, especially the supreme judges. The judges of Mecca, Medina, Adrianople, Brusa, Cairo, Damascus, &c., stand at their head, and are usually called the great mollas.

Moslemin. Moslem. The Faithful, Mussulman.

Mufti. Or Sheik-ul-Islam. See p. 43.

Mushir. Title of ministers of the first rank; excellency. Musteshar. Secretary of state, private secretary of a minister.

Nishandshibashi. Secretary for the signature of the Sultan.

Padisha. Great lord; standing title, especially in addressing the Sultan.

Pasha. Commander. Title for all high dignitaries. According to rank, they are divided into pashas of one, two, and three horse-tails, of which the last and highest bear the title of vizier. Pashalik, the administrative district of a pasha. Comp. p. 19.

Porte, Sublime Porte. Seat of the government. Office of interior and foreign affairs. From time immemorial, the petty affairs of nations and subjects have been settled at the gate of the imperial palace; in Turkey, formerly in the second court of the seraglio (Sultan's palace). As the divan was held with greater frequency in the vizier's palace, the latter gradually became known as the "Sublime Porte." Comp. p. 74.

*Rayah* signifies *dog*. Common appellation for non-Mohammedans, especially for Christians : the latter were also called Giaour.

Redifs. Militia.

Reis Effendi. Minister of foreign affairs.

Relics. The sword, bow, banner, and mantle of the Prophet. The sword is used at the "girding-on of the sword," on the accession of a new sultan. The holv banner is the imperial standard. In dangerous campaigns it is sent to the army under great solemnities, and always returned to the seraglio; its color is green, and it is called "Sanshak-Sherif." One of the greatest festivals of Sunnite Mohammedans is consecrated to the "Feast of the Robe of the Prophet," or the borda, at which time the mantle is displayed for the high court and government dignitaries to worship. During this ceremony, an end of the garment hangs in a vessel of water, which is afterwards distributed to favored ones as holy water. These objects are kept in a magnificent hall, relic-chamber of the seraglio; cloak and banner, in forty-fold silk wraps, secreted in two silver chests.

Horse-tails. Turkish standards, quite analogous to our battle-flags. The Turks were originally an equestrian race; and their whole military system was based on fiefs, or holdings. Comp. p. 19, which explains the origin of this custom. The commanders, according to rank and number of their command, have one, two, three horse-tails : only the standard of the Prophet, the most sacred relic of the Ottomans, is surrounded by six horse-tails when it precedes the army

Sandshak, sanshak, sanjak, or sangiac. See p. 19.

Girding on of the sword. Is analogous to the coronation of our princes. It takes place in the mosque Ejubs (Standard-bearer of the Prophet), in Constantinople, if there is no obstacle, on the first Friday after taking the throne. The Sultan's master of horse leads the Sultan's steed; and the highest emir present girds the Sultan with the sword of the Prophet. This ceremony takes place with great pomp in the presence of all the dignitaries of the empire.

Shah. King; title of the hereditary despot of Persia.

*Sheik.* Preacher, especially the upper clergy in the great mosques.